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CONTENTS

OF

Nº. XXXI.

PAGE.

ART. I. Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Richard Watson, late Secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society. By Thomas Jackson.	1
II. 1. The Pulpit.	
2. The Preacher, containing sermons by eminent Divines.	
3. The British Pulpit; a selection of accurately reported Sermons by the most talented Evangelical Divines of every denomination.	
4. The Minister.	
5. The Scottish Pulpit.	31
III. Oaths, their Origin, Nature and History. By James Endell Tyler, B.D.	43
IV. The Poetical Works of the Rev. George Crabbe.	56
V. An Argument to prove the Truth of the Christian Revelation. By the Earl of Rosse.	71
VI. 1. Sermons on the Leading Principles and Practical Duties of Christianity. By Philip Nicholas Shuttleworth, D.D. Vol. II.	
2. Sermons on Various Occasions. By Charles Webb Le Bass, A.M. Vol. III.	90
VII. The Connexion of the Physical Sciences. By Mrs. Somerville.	123
VIII. Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745. Edited from the Right Reverend Robert Forbes, A.M. Bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church, by Robert Chambers.	132
IX. A Voyage round the World, including Travels in Africa, Asia, Australasia, America, &c. &c., from 1827 to 1832. By James Holman, R.N. F.R.S. &c.	160

X.	1. Outline of a System of National Education.	
	2. Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia ; addressed to the Count de Montalivet, Peer of France, Minister of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs. By M. Victor Cousin, Peer of France. Translated by Sarah Austin.	
	3. The Church Establishment inconsistent with the Spirit of Christianity, and the well-being of the Community : a Discourse delivered at Finsbury Chapel, South Place, Moorfields, on Sunday, March 16, 1834. To which is added, a Copy of the Petition to Parliament from the Members of the Congregation. By W. J. Fox. .	172
XI.	1. A Discourse on the Studies of the University. By Adam Sedgwick, M.A., F.R.S.	
	2. Thoughts on the Admission of Persons, without regard to their Religious Opinions, to Certain Degrees in the Universities of England. By Thomas Turton, D.D.	
	3. On the Admission of Dissenters to reside and graduate at the Universities. By the Rev. Christopher Words- worth, M.A.	
	4. Some remarks on the Dean of Peterborough's Tract. By Samuel Lee, D.D., Reg. Prof. of Hebrew, &c.	
	5. A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Turton, D.D. By Connop Thirlwall, M.A.	
	6. Remarks on Mr. Thirlwall's Letter. By William Whewell, M.A.	
	7. A Letter to Earl Grey on the Admission of Dissenters to the Universities. By W. Sewell, M.A.	
	8. Extracts from Examination Papers. By W. Selwyn, M.A.	186
XII.	Report of the Society for promoting Christian Know- ledge for 1833.	200
	ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD	232

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XXIII C. 29

ART. I.—*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Richard Watson, late Secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society.* By Thomas Jackson. London. 1834.

THE subject of these Memoirs certainly appears to have been a very extraordinary man. We can scarcely wonder that the Wesleys should be proud of him. With a very feeble frame of body, and a very irregular intellectual training, he undoubtedly achieved wonders within a very short span of life; for he died at the age of fifty-two, worn down by the combined operation of constitutional malady and of incessant toil. The following is a brief sketch of his biography, collected from the volume now before us: of which volume we have only to say, that it is written in a perspicuous and tolerably unambitious style; but that, withal, it is most tremendously diffuse, and stuffed out with enormous extracts from the Missionary Reports, drawn up by the deceased in the course of his labours as Secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society. This, however, is a peculiarity which will, probably, do nothing to impede the circulation of the work among the members of Mr. Watson's own communion. While his memory is yet fresh, they will hardly be weary of perusing the words of their distinguished and venerated minister. The time may, possibly, come, when a somewhat briefer narrative may satisfy the curiosity of the religious public.

Richard Watson was born on the 22d of February, 1781, at Barton-upon-Humber, in Lincolnshire. His father was a saddler, and, moreover, a Dissenter. He was, also, a freeman of the city of Lincoln; and, (as Mr. Jackson informs us, with some naïveté), "thinking that the Parish Register might be of some advantage to his son, in future life, the child was baptized at St. Peter's Church at Barton." His infancy was extremely delicate. He was subject to fits of alarming drowsiness; in one of which

he was found fast asleep in the street, upon the threshold of a neighbouring house. He had, nevertheless, energy sufficient to repeat the letters of the alphabet in so emphatic a manner, as to rouse the spirit of prophecy in the dame who taught him, and to extort from her the exclamation, " Bless thee! thou wilt be a *great man*!" And he was a *great man* accordingly; on no less authority than that of the celebrated Robert Hall, who, when he heard Watson preach, at Leicester, on the Atonement, was so deeply impressed with his sermon, that, for some time after, he could think of nothing else. He even delivered the substance of it to his own congregation; and urged his people to seize the first opportunity of hearing that " great man" from whose lips it originally fell.

His progress towards greatness, which was very eccentric, is carefully marked out by his biographer. It appears that, during childhood, he put forth other manifest indications of his future eminence. The quickness of his parts was such, that his parents were induced to consent that he should learn Latin. Moreover, when he was about six years old, he had devoured some seventeen or eighteen volumes of the Universal History. Some years afterwards, he was distinguished by the superior propriety of his reading; so that it became a common remark among his school-fellows—" Dick Watson will make a capital parson, he is so good a reader!" While he was at school, he had a narrow escape from being tempted into the profession of arms. But he was destined, says Mr. Jackson, to the acquisition of a fame which " sword and musket never can confer." His passion for literature once betrayed him into a very odd, and not very commendable expedient, for its gratification. He concealed the iron bar which fastened the shutters of his father's shop. When night came, Richard was vehement in his sympathy with the rest of the family, for the loss of this necessary safeguard. He further represented to them, that it would be madness to leave the property exposed to depredation; and insisted on remaining in the shop all night, while the family retired to rest. And by this contrivance he secured an opportunity of perusing some favourite work, which had irresistibly fixed his attention. At fourteen years of age, he was apprenticed to a joiner, but continued to reside in his father's house. His appearance, at this period, was very remarkable. He was no less than six feet two inches high! His hair was lank, and of a deep black. His demeanour was uncouth: and though he had the stature of a giant, his countenance was still that of a mere boy. His manners and his habits, too, were those of a very mischievous boy: for, he indulged himself in constant and merciless ridicule against a poor,

but very zealous Methodist shoemaker, who had once beaten him for indecorous behaviour in chapel; and, further, it was his principal delight to stand on one side of the canal, with graceless companions like himself, and to pelt the Methodist congregation, on their way to and from the chapel, on the other side. Mr. Jackson, however, is laudably anxious to assure us, that Richard was prompted to this sort of persecution, not by "a direct and *systematic* hostility to religion," but rather by a childish propensity for sport. He adds, however, that, in Richard's own opinion, he must have become one of the most wicked of his companions, had he not been "arrested by an unseen hand, and made a remarkable instance of the freeness and power of Divine Grace."

The history of his deliverance and conversion is curious enough. He accidentally got acquainted with an intelligent watch-maker, who assisted him in his mathematical studies, to which he was then considerably addicted. The wife of the artist was a talkative and pugnacious Calvinist; and she almost worried Richard to death with the mysteries of the five points. At length his patience was exhausted. He was resolved to be no longer a helpless and passive hearer. And, accordingly, he went to attend a Wesleyan preacher, purely with the view of arming himself for the quinquarticular conflict, against the loquacious female theologian. But "the word," says Mr. Jackson, "came with power to the young man's heart, and he was deeply convinced of sin." He went to the chapel as a sort of polemical catechumen. He returned a serious and broken hearted penitent. He rushed out,—not to seek his companions in brutal mischief, nor to put the She-Calvinist to silence,—but to meditate, and pray, and to commune with his own heart. The result of all this, Mr. Jackson tells us, was, that "his midnight was turned into the light of day; that guilty fear, in his breast, gave place to filial love; and that the Holy Ghost bore a *distinct and indubitable witness* with his spirit, that he was a child of God:" and that "not many days had elapsed after he was convinced of sin, before he was made a *happy partaker of the pardoning grace of God.*" Such was the impetuosity of his newly awakened conviction, that "at two different times, when running to the chapel, in his eagerness to join his Christian friends in divine worship, he fell and broke his arm."*

He began "calling sinners to repentance" before he had quite completed his fifteenth year! The occasion was the decease of his grandmother; on which solemn event he delivered an

* Are we to understand that a fractured limb was the consequence of each fall?

address at the evening prayer-meeting in the chapel: and this, his biographer informs us, was, "*the commencement of his public ministry*." On the 23d February, 1796, the day after he was fifteen years of age, he preached his first sermon, at a village called Boothby, a few miles from Lincoln." Some time after this, his master, with singular disinterestedness, cancelled his indentures; and Richard became a local preacher, and prosecuted his labours in various circuits: and the general remark among those who heard him, was, that "he preached like one who had been many years in the work." On one occasion, indeed, his presence of mind forsook him. He was proceeding in his discourse with much "fluency and enlargement," when, suddenly, he lost all recollection of his subject, and was compelled to bring the sermon to an abrupt conclusion. All this while, his understanding was left without any regular discipline.

"Like the greater part of his brethren," says Mr. Jackson, "he had been thrust into the ministry without much of that scholastic training which is so desirable and advantageous. It is painful," he adds, "to see a mind of the first order left to luxuriate without any of the salutary restraints and directions which a just discipline and experience would supply. To this day, it is a serious defect in the system of Wesleyan Methodism, that it makes no adequate provision for the education of its ministers. A few of them, by the force of their own talents and application, have arisen to considerable eminence as scholars and preachers. But the usefulness of the greater part of them has been retarded, through life, by the want of a sound literary and theological training."

But whatever might be the defects of his education, there was no deficiency of zeal or vigilance. He had his eye upon every prevalent aberration from the faith: and, stripling as he was, he stepped forth against the attempt of Mr. Winchester to revive the theory of Origen, who contended that hell itself is altogether purgatorial; that not only impious men, but the apostate spirits themselves, should be saved, after they should be sufficiently purified in the fire; and that mercy would finally be extended to every lapsed intelligence without exception. A sermon preached by Richard against this doctrine, at Barrow, commanded great attention at the time, and led to a correspondence with the preacher, of which, however, no traces are now remaining. When he was only nineteen years of age, his spirit was stirred within him by a pamphlet circulated by a clergyman of Derby, with the somewhat contemptuous title of "*An Address to the People called Methodists*." If the substance of this production be here justly represented, it was weak and injudicious enough. But even had the author been a Goliath of theology, the youthful

champion would probably have gone forth to hurl defiance at the godless giant! It was on this occasion that he first put forth "his maiden publication," entitled, *An Apology for the Methodists*, by Richard Watson, Preacher of the Gospel. Whether the Philistine fell before him, we do not find recorded. In the midst of his engagements he found leisure for unbounded but very desultory reading. Among other books, he stumbled upon Watts's treatise on the glorified humanity of Christ. We are told that his faith was not shaken by the adventure; but that he was betrayed by it into habits of incautious and controversial talk, which exposed him to a suspicion of heresy. The knowledge of this imputation burst upon him in a manner which overwhelmed him with consternation. "When he went to one of the villages to preach, the house where he had been cordially entertained was closed against him. He was refused permission to address the congregation. He was denied even a night's lodging, where he had often been received as an *Angel of God!*" This outrageous eruption of orthodoxy against one who had never been publicly accused or tried, was too much for the spirit of the almost beardless preacher. And he did, what many a bearded man might have been tempted to do, under similar provocation; he instantly withdrew from his work as an itinerant preacher.

The commentary of Mr. Jackson upon this affair, is, that Richard Watson, "by this act, was disobedient to the *Divine Call*, which he *unquestionably* had received, and, like another Jonah, *fled from the presence of the Lord!*" To us, who know nothing of any call to the ministry except that which receives the episcopal sanction, and which maintains the ministerial succession, all this sounds exceedingly odd and strange. But, as our object is not controversy, we shall content ourselves with saying, that, whether the call, in this instance, were divine or not, it is clear that the call of Richard Watson's elder brethren in the ministry must have had as good a title as his own to that character; and that, if he felt himself aggrieved, he might have appealed to their authority, and demanded investigation of the charge against him. At this time, however, his historian confesses, he knew and cared little about the principles of church government. He nevertheless felt, when he had time for reflection, that if, at first, *he did well to be angry*, he did very ill to yield so hastily to the impulse. On his retirement from the ministry, he entered on some line of secular business. Nothing, however, seemed to go well with him, except that he married very much to his satisfaction. The upbraidings of his conscience were incessant. His inaptitude for mere worldly occupation was incurable. He could find no rest, under the suspension of his customary spiritual labours; and, at last, found refuge from his miseries in

the *Methodist New Connexion*; a society which differed, in certain peculiarities of constitution, from the original body, but held precisely the same theological doctrines: and as they embarrassed him by no puzzling questions touching matters of discipline, he transferred himself to their communion without any misgiving or perplexity.

His association with these people was, in one respect, extremely fortunate. His duties, with them, were sufficiently easy to allow him leisure for the cultivation and enrichment of his mind. At last, however, he became dissatisfied with the system of his new friends; tendered his resignation to the authorities of the circuit; returned as a private member to the old Wesleyan connection; and in 1812 was re-admitted as an itinerant preacher, being then about thirty-one years of age.

It is from this period that the character of Richard Watson becomes chiefly important. And it is precisely at this point, too, that it becomes impossible to represent, succinctly, the course of his life and occupations, by any artifice of condensation or abridgment. From henceforward, his biography is neither more nor less than the history of his removals from circuit to circuit, after the manner of the Wesleyans,—of his incessant labours of body and mind, in the exercise of his ministry,—of his constantly advancing influence over the community with which he was connected,—of the perpetually expanding space which he occupied in the eye of what is sometimes called the *religious world*,—and, more especially, of his vast and often splendid exertions in the missionary cause. These are the materials out of which the remainder of the volume is principally composed. We have already hinted that economy of space or patience, has by no means entered into the calculations of the biographer, in the execution of his task. He seems to have written and compiled with an unbounded reliance on the insatiable appetite of a certain very numerous class of his readers; and we have no reason to suppose that he has overrated their capacities of digestion. For ourselves, we must be content to avow,—at the hazard of being stigmatised as a degenerate and puny race,—that we could have been well satisfied if the entertainment provided for us had been upon a much less heroic scale.

Richard Watson died on the 8th of January, 1833, partly exhausted by unmitigated toil, partly torn to pieces by bodily suffering. In one respect he resembled Robert Hall. His corporeal frame was, for many years of his life, “an apparatus of torture.” In a former number we recorded the result of the *post mortem* examination of Hall’s remains. We have now an opportunity of doing the same thing with reference to Richard Watson.

The subjoined description of the appearances was furnished by James Hunter, Esq.

“On making an examination after death, the gall-bladder and adjoining portion of the liver were found adhering to the neighbouring viscera. The gall-duct was completely obliterated, a case of very rare occurrence. The gall-bladder was much altered in structure, and contained, instead of bile, a clear fluid like water. The changes in the liver, gall-bladder, and ducts, were evidently of long standing; and were sufficient to account for the distressing symptoms under which Mr. Watson had been labouring for years.”

It is possible that some of our readers may be disposed to turn away from these anatomical expositions. For our own part, we are in the habit of regarding them as inexpressibly important. Every thing is important, which illustrates the predominance of the spiritual over the carnal and material nature. Every thing is important, which affords an impressive commentary on the exclamation, *O death where is thy sting? O grave where is thy victory?* We apprehend that nothing can bring home more forcibly to our hearts the sovereignty of faith, and hope, and love, than intellectual and moral wonders achieved in the midst of a protracted martyrdom. Stoicism, we know, has done much to exalt the power of mind above that of sense; whether it be the stoicism of an Attic school, or the stoicism of a North American wilderness. Ambition, too, and Pride, and Egotism in all its various types and disguises, have likewise done much to show that the *dust and ashes* are but the poor and beggarly elements of our nature. But the grand triumph is, when the spirit can stretch onward, not *seeking great things for itself* in this world; but impelled only by the celestial motive of *glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth, and good-will towards men*; and this, too, while the flesh is not merely lusting against the spirit, but fighting against it, and striving, as it were, to lacerate the wings of the spirit, in the madness of its anguish. This is the spectacle which was exhibited to the world, in perfection, upon the Cross. And this is the victory of *the mind which was in Christ Jesus*, which has since, in humbler measure and proportion, been exhibited to the world by many of Christ's faithful servants. And deeply should we have reason to despise ourselves, if we denied this praise to such men as Robert Hall and Richard Watson. We may lament that they should have lived as aliens from what we cannot but regard as the Apostolic Church of Christ. But shame upon us, if we were to question, that they died, as every disciple of Christ must wish to die,—as conquerors, and more than conquerors, through His might, over the world, the flesh, and the devil.

Shall we be pardoned, here, for a moment's digression? It has

recently been our chance to peruse the Life of the great Frederic of Prussia, by Lord Dover. At the close of that narrative we have before us the death of an infidel philosopher: and a more astounding contrast between the weakness and the strength of man's unsanctified nature, never, we verily believe, was exhibited to mankind. Frederic, it is true, in a certain sense, was victorious over infirmity and pain. His last years were beset by an almost intolerable complication of maladies. And yet, the severest bodily suffering seldom extorted from him an expression of impatience; and never was allowed to furnish an excuse for the interruption of his duties as a king. And so far, all is noble and admirable. In the midst, however, of all this magnanimous firmness, the power of self-will was rampant. There was, indeed, the inflexible strength of purpose,—the commanding force of intellect,—in short, the spirit which prompts man to exclaim, *Dextra mihi Deus!* But where was the heroism of resignation? Where was the unconquerable might of meekness? Where was the glorious manifestation of strength made perfect in weakness? Why, the very man whose mind had stood erect in the midst of a deluge of calamity—the man whose genius had dissipated to the winds the onset of nearly all the combined strength of Europe—the man, too, who could defy the worst extremities of physical anguish,—that very man was unable to overcome—what?—his passion for *polenta* and eel-pie? Yes—the indomitable Frederic—the invincible captain,—the over-ruling military genius of the age,—while tottering on the verge of the sepulchre, was a slave to sensualities which, in the common estimation of mankind, degrade our nature below that of the brutes. It was vain for his physicians to remonstrate. He drove them from his presence, if their interpretation of his symptoms was at variance with his own royal caprices. And so he continued, to the last, to gorge himself with his favourite poisons—(sometimes even to vomiting and convulsions)—and to inflame his stomach, and to corrupt his blood, and to light up for himself the fires of a most sordid martyrdom. It is true—he endured all, without complaint and without flinching; such was the supremacy and the might of a stubborn philosophy. But surely, angels might weep, and demons might laugh, to witness such a triumph;—to behold a man who, in the very jaws of death, could defy torment with the courage of a hero; and, at the same time, indulge his palate like one whose only *God was his belly!*

And now let us turn to the contemplation of the life and death of them, who serve their God and their Saviour, in the midst of weakness, and fear, and much trembling; with the thorn in their flesh, but with the love of God shed abroad upon their hearts. We have here the same superiority over pain—the same victory

of mind over matter—but all this dignified and hallowed by communion of the soul with Him, who is the only source of strength, and holiness, and purity. We recommend the comparison to the worshippers of Reason, and the despisers of Faith.

Such being our notions of Richard Watson as an individual, it will hardly be imagined that we address ourselves to the consideration of his life and opinions, with the slightest shadow of unkind or uncharitable feeling hovering over us, to darken our judgment. When we reflect on what he was, and what he accomplished, we cannot, indeed, suppress an emotion of sadness and regret, that such a man should have remained, to the end of his days, in separation from the Church, out of whose bosom his own communion originally came forth. But we cannot get rid of a strong conviction, that, had his theological training for the ministry been more profound and more complete, we should have numbered him among us. We can scarcely conceive it possible that a man, gifted, as he appears to have been, with mental capacities of a high order, could have deliberately surveyed the history of the primitive Catholic Church, without trembling at the thoughts of a defection from that branch of it, which has been, for so many ages, planted in this land. He *must*—surely he *must*—then have perceived the danger, to say the very least, of rushing into the sacred ministry, merely under the impulse of certain personal feelings and convictions. Surely he *must* have perceived that, (to adopt the view of Hooker), Episcopacy is either a divine institution; or else that it had the subsequent sanction of the Divine approbation. He must have seen the rashness of rending asunder the chain of succession, which was bound to the Apostolic chair, and has been continued onward, from age to age, through a long unbroken line of consecrated men. He must have discerned that the Bishops of Christ's Church, have formed, as it were, a series of *Lampadéphori*, who have delivered from hand to hand—(unworthily as those hands may sometimes have been)—the sacred torch of ecclesiastical authority, from one generation to another. That our God is not the God of confusion, but of order, was well known to him and his brethren; and, to no man that ever lived, was it better known, than to the founder of his sect. For where, in all Christendom, shall we find a communion,—we might say, indeed, a *hierarchy*,—more carefully and elaborately organized, than the Wesleyan Connection? If, then, from his youth up, Richard Watson had been familiar with the monuments of the Church, and the writings of her earliest and purest Fathers,—it is scarcely possible that he could have endured the thought of breaking that *order*, which has been handed down to us from the days of her infancy to the present hour. But, unhappily, his

mental discipline was most irregular and desultory. When he obeyed the *Divine call*, (as he doubtless imagined it,) he was a mere boy. He "*knew, and cared, nothing*" about Church authority and discipline. His brain was a chaos of crude and miscellaneous reading. His heart, the seat of pure and zealous, but wild and disorderly, impulses. And when, in after life, he looked into the Fathers, he was deeply and irrevocably committed to the cause which had been dear to him from childhood. His prepossessions were all formed. His principles had become fixed, and solid, and incapable of re-moulding. And thus, we doubt not, it has been, with many other devoted and estimable men. They have hastened, in early life, into the ministry, we question not, from very pure and conscientious motives; but, most generally, with consciences extremely ill-informed; and, in many instances, with consciences not informed at all, upon the great questions of Church authority and discipline. At the outset of their course, they had known nothing, or next to nothing, of the history of the Church, or of her claims upon their obedience. The possibility that separation from her should be sinful, had never occurred, for an instant, to their thought. And when such men are once engaged in the labours of their sacred vocation, it is in vain to ply them with an appeal to Christian antiquity. They have either no leisure for the investigation; or they have no patience for it; or else, their faculties have acquired, almost imperceptibly, the power of making both Scripture and antiquity correspond to the "*form and pressure*" of their own peculiar habits and opinions. We, surely, may be allowed to deplore that this should be so, without exposing ourselves to the charge of illiberal and uncharitable rigour. At all events, we suppose the Wesleyans will hardly feel much exasperation against us, when we say, that we wish nothing worse for such men as Richard Watson, than that they should be faithful members and ministers of the Church of England. We are quite sure that their zeal, and their talents, and their acquirements, would find, in our communion, at least as ample a sphere of usefulness, as can be found any where in the regions of Nonconformity. And we trust that we may add, without offence, the expression of our own firm belief, that their exertions would then be in much more strict conformity, than they now are, with the primitive and apostolic ordinances of the Christian Church.

It would be a very needless work for us to plunge into a minute examination of the peculiarities of the Wesleyan doctrinal theology. The intelligent portion of the public are already familiar with them. It is sufficient for us to state that they are all reflected, with full orb, from the mind of Richard Watson. For instance, he contended earnestly for the full, distinct, infallible, testimony

of the Spirit of God, with the spirits of all true believers. He maintained that—

“We must, first, be persuaded of God’s pardoning love to us, *personally*, before we can, in the Scriptural sense, love God; and that such a persuasion is, therefore, a pre-requisite to what is properly termed Christian holiness; that the theory which requires men to ascertain the fact of their personal acceptance with God, from the actual conformity of their temper and conduct to the precepts of the Gospel, is directly calculated to produce a *spirit of bondage unto fear*, rather than that filial disposition which characterized the Christians of the Apostolic age, and which is, indeed, a believer’s strength.”—(p. 373).

And in another place he recommends a correspondent to “rest not a moment, without the *felt presence* of God.”—(p. 258.) He conceived that a true believer might be, and indeed must be, under an entire conviction of his being personally *accepted in the beloved*. And yet, in spite of all this, it would seem that the doctrine of *indefectible grace* forms no part of the Wesleyan creed. For Watson’s biographer mentions it as

“A sad fact, that several persons (at Leeds), who were under religious impressions at the time of their secession (from the Connection), yielding to the soul-destroying influence of clamour and party-spirit, *lost their gracious convictions*, and abandoned altogether the profession of religion.”—(p. 476).

To the whole of the Calvinistic system, indeed, Richard Watson was conscientiously and firmly opposed. He regarded it as presumptuous—

“To limit the divine mercy in the redemption of mankind, upon philosophic grounds, and in the teeth of the most express declarations of Scripture; he held that the peculiarities of the Calvinistic theory impose very serious restraints on Christian ministers in the discharge of their official duties; and that the moral tendency of its tenets was far from salutary.”

His notion on this subject received a remarkable confirmation from a quarter in which any thing like concession was least to be expected. He once saw Rowland Hill at a large meeting of dissenting ministers; who, supposing Watson to belong to the Independent Denomination, said to him, “What shall we do, Sir, to prevent the spread of Antinomianism, which is making such dreadful havoc of many of our country churches. Don’t you think, Sir, that there really is something in our Calvinistic doctrines which is calculated to produce these terrible evils?” Watson was considerably embarrassed by a question like this from the aged Apostle of Calvinism; but, nevertheless, he assented to the suggestion. Upon which Rowland exclaimed, with his own peculiar emphasis of manner, “I spent my younger days

in fighting the Arminian Devil ; but I will spend the rest of my life in fighting the Devil Antinomianism." And even so old Rowland did ! For, from that moment, the gorgon countenance of the Calvinistic theology was a good deal veiled in his public ministrations. The snakes, at least, were hidden, and nothing but the softer features disclosed ; so that the petrifying influence of the doctrine, it may be presumed, was somewhat mitigated, if not wholly intercepted. But, to return to Watson. He was greatly delighted and satisfied with a Tract on God's Decrees, by Thomas Pierce, a learned Episcopal Divine, who flourished during the Commonwealth and the reign of Charles II. This performance did much to strengthen him in the persuasion, that the Almighty may, by an act of mere sovereignty, elect nations and bodies of people to the enjoyment of church privileges on earth ; while his decrees touching their eternal condition will have respect to individual character. From all this it seems that Richard Watson, like all his Wesleyan brethren, regarded the Calvinistic scheme as unsound and unscriptural. And yet we confess that we find it extremely difficult to distinguish between the Wesleyan doctrine of a *distinct and indubitable* internal witness, which tells the believer of his certain acceptance, and the Calvinistic doctrine of a perfect assurance of salvation. For if a man has once received from the Spirit a positive and irrevocable assurance that he is a child of God, one hardly sees how he can stop short of the conclusion that his calling and election is already made sure, and that his name is *indelibly* written in the book of life. But, however this may be, Watson was undoubtedly right in protesting against the introduction of philosophy and metaphysics into these discussions. From the ground of philosophy and metaphysics, however, nothing will ever prevail upon the argumentative Calvinist to retire. For he must know very well that it is the only ground which does not sink under his feet. He knows, too, that this is the ground from which mere human logic will never be able to drive him. As Waterland himself confesses, there is no *discernible* flaw in the predestinarian *reasoning*. The only way of answering it is, to appeal to human nature ; or rather to appeal to the *whole tenor* of the scriptures of God. St. Louis recommended all good and unlearned Catholics not to argue with heretics, but to draw their sword, and to drive it into the bowels of the misbelievers, *as far as it would go*. Even so say we. Never argue metaphysically with a Fatalist of any class or description. But draw forth the sword of the Spirit, even the word of God ; and thrust, not a part of the weapon, but the whole of it, up to the very hilt, into the heart of your antagonist's logic.

There is another of the Wesleyan doctrines which has always

confounded sober-minded men, but which was nevertheless embraced in its fullest extent by Richard Watson; namely, the doctrine of Christian perfection, or entire sanctification. It is usually believed that our sanctification is never complete, on this side the grave. But Wesley and Fletcher thought otherwise. And, in accordance with them, Watson contended that it is "the common privilege of believers to be saved from all sin in the present life, and to be sanctified to God, in body, soul, and spirit, till they enter upon the heavenly state."—(p. 470.) In his *Theological Dictionary* he says, "Sanctification in this world must be complete. The whole nature must be sanctified. All sin must be utterly abolished; or the soul can never be admitted into the glorious presence of God." We must honestly confess that we have not, at this moment, present to our recollection, the precise line of argument by which the followers of Wesley are in the habit of defending this very hazardous position; and we have no leisure to review the discussion. But there are some fearful considerations which must inevitably rush into every mind the instant the doctrine is propounded. In the first place, it is difficult to understand what can be meant by *complete sanctification*, unless it implies a process which brings the human soul into a state of conformity with the will of God, as perfect as that which was exemplified in the person of our blessed Saviour himself. And, that any human soul has ever attained to such perfect conformity, is a proposition which sounds to us like profaneness and impiety. In the second place, even on the supposition that such perfection is attainable by man, the number who actually attain it must be most awfully small indeed. And if none but those who attain it, shall ever be admitted into the presence of God, all but a very trifling remnant of the human race, must be doomed to destruction from his presence for ever! Thirdly, the believer is conscious of having reached this consummation of holiness and purity, before the hour of death,—or he is not. If he is conscious of it, he is in possession of the fullest and most finished assurance of salvation that can be communicated to the soul of man; or, in other words, the Calvinistic doctrine of assurance, in its utmost extremity of presumption, is an article of the Wesleyan creed. If he is not conscious of it, he must leave this world with one of two prospects before him; namely, either that the penal futurity which awaits him is purgatorial, and that its fires must be endured until they shall have effected the entire abolition of the body of sin,—(a doctrine which, as we have seen, the Wesleyans utterly abjure);—or else he must expire with a fearful looking for of judgment, that threatens him with never-ending tribulation and anguish. And

in that case, the brightness of hope can scarcely ever visit the chamber of the dying penitent; a covering of sackcloth will be spread over his heaven, and the shadow of eternal death will come down upon his soul.

It is remarkable that neither Watson, nor even Wesley himself, ever ventured to affirm, that this super-human perfection of holiness had been attained by themselves. And it may safely be presumed that they never could have produced any one human being, of whom they could confidently say that he was *thus* prepared to meet the face of God. The language of Watson, as the hour of dissolution approached, breathes of nothing but humility. "I have never," he said, "been so powerfully impressed with a sense of my own *worthlessness*, as during this illness." And again, "I am a poor vile worm. But then, the worm is permitted to crawl out of the earth into the garden of the Lord." Expressions like these may possibly be, somehow or other, explained away, by resolute believers in the doctrine of perfection. And truly the doctrine will, practically, be harmless enough, if its *spirit* is so far forgotten by the believer, in the course of his thoughts, and words, and deeds, that it requires a circuitous process of explanation to reconcile his language and his demeanour with the *letter* of the doctrine. The probability is, that the theory of *entire sanctification* is, after all, a *theory* only; and, virtually, little more than the exaggeration of this undoubted truth, namely, that no Christian is to aim below perfection; no Christian is to work with a model before him inferior to the highest spiritual excellence. No man is warranted to say,—the body of sin can never be utterly abolished in this world; and, therefore, it is madness to attempt it. He is to strive and reach after the things that are before, with as much animation as if his success were to be complete. This is the spirit in which men strive after worldly masteries; and this, too, is the spirit in which they ought to strive for an imperishable crown. Common sense tells us this; and, what is more to the purpose, the Bible tells us the same thing. And it is not very difficult to imagine, how this plain intelligible principle may be magnified and distended, when seen through the medium of a somewhat enthusiastic piety; till the believer comes to imagine that he may, in the most direct and literal sense of the words, be at last presented personally spotless before the presence of God.

We abstain from all further consideration of the peculiar doctrines of the Wesleyan school. We likewise forbear to enter into any large discussion of the merits or demerits of the *Life of Wesley* by Mr. Southey, or of Richard Watson's publication in reply to it. We refrain from this topic purposely and advisedly.

Methodism is now before us. It is interesting to us as a system which, at this moment, is in active and extended operation. The character and view of its founder are, of course, very interesting topics for the philosophic and religious historian. But we have to do with this system, in its present shape, and as it is actually influencing, either for good or evil, the spiritual condition of the existing generation. We, therefore, partake but slightly of the agitation and stir of a controversy, which relates entirely to the source and origin of the scheme. To us, at the present day, it matters comparatively little, whether the motives of John Wesley were free from every earthly taint or mixture; or whether any baser elements dropped in, as unawares, to give a more powerful heat and impulse to his work. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to one remark. It has been alleged by Mr. Southey, that Wesley was, in part, prompted by Ambition to his extraordinary course of labour. Now, whether this surmise be just, or whether it be not, it does appear to us that Watson's way of dealing with it, indicates but a very imperfect knowledge of human nature. "It is mere trifling," he says, "to speak of *ambition*, in the case of Mr. Wesley, in any but the best sense. *Wealth*, it is acknowledged, was not his object. The only *honour* he met with was to be reproached and persecuted. And the *power*, of which we have heard so much, was the power to manage the affairs of a poor and despised people."—(p. 322.) Now we apprehend that no dispassionate person that ever looked into Mr. Southey's volumes, has ever risen from the perusal with the impression, that the system of Methodism had its *rise* in ambition, or the lust of power. He would rather conclude that it sprang, humanly speaking, from a spirit of fervent piety, combined with a most extraordinary strength of will. He would indeed find that, in the judgment of the historian, the vast and expanding influence of Wesley brought its own peculiar temptations with it; that a tone of command stole, gradually and imperceptibly, over the demeanour of the great reformer; and that the satisfaction of ruling the movements of a mighty and complicated engine, mingled itself, more or less, with the excitements of religious zeal. Let us here repeat, that we abstain from pronouncing any judgment on the correctness of this theory. But, even if this theory were made out beyond all contradiction, we can see nothing in it which ought fatally to impair the claims of this wonderful man to the reverence and admiration of his own followers. Even if it were absolutely certain that he became somewhat enamoured of his own astonishing supremacy, most assuredly no strange thing would have happened unto him. Wesley, after all, was but a human being. It will, therefore, scarcely be contended, that he was altogether exempt from human infirmities. Why, then, should he have been exempt

from the danger of that last infirmity of noble and ardent minds,—the love of influence and sway? That he despised wealth is perfectly notorious; for wealth was an object far too contemptible and low to impel a spirit like his. But when we are told that the *honour* of being reproached and persecuted could have no charms, we are, in effect, told to throw away the history of our species. For nothing, we believe, is better known to all who have carefully studied that history, than the fact, that there have been minds which this species of honour has sometimes affected with a sort of strange intoxication. Again, the power of Wesley, we are reminded, was the power to manage the affairs of a poor and despised people. But then, it must also be remembered, that this poor and despised people were, in a manner, his own creation,—that he saw their numbers expanding at his word, day by day, and almost hour by hour,—that the heart of the whole multitude, for the most part, bowed down before him, as the heart of one man—and that this is a spectacle which an enterprising nature is seldom able to look upon without a certain elation of heart and countenance. Once more, however, let us not be misunderstood. We are not standing forward to accuse Wesley of ambition, or love of power; but, simply, to correct the somewhat defective philosophy of his Vindicator. For any thing that we are much disposed to advance to the contrary, Wesley may have been endowed with the purity and elevation of a seraph. All that we contend for is, that these abstract speculations of his defender, about honour and ambition, can do but little to better his claim to that towering excellence.

It would be unjust to withhold an honourable mention of Richard Watson's *vindication* of something still more important than the character of John Wesley. In 1818, he stood forth as a champion of the orthodox faith against that very amiable and learned, but *rather* wrong-headed man, Dr. Adam Clarke. In his Commentary on the Scriptures, Adam had maintained that the title of the Son of God belongs to Jesus Christ, solely with reference to his human birth of the Virgin Mary. He contended, it is true, most strenuously for the *true and proper divinity of Christ*. But the doctrine of his Eternal Sonship he considered as one of those doctrines which cannot stand the test of rational investigation, and therefore *cannot* be true. Upon this, Richard Watson stepped forth to do battle for the truth, although he was by many years junior to his venerable antagonist. Some extracts from his performance are given by his biographer; and these are extremely creditable both to his temper and his understanding. The controversy, however, lies in a nut-shell. The only question is, *how is it written?* And if it is written, in effect, that Christ is the Everlasting Son of the Father, there is an end

of the matter. If a man is prepared to set up his Reason against the testimony of the Scriptures,—especially with regard to matters which the Angels bend down to look into,—he is likewise prepared to turn heresiarch, upon the first serious difficulty which meets him in the Bible. Besides, what relief is gained for *Reason*, by the application of the title of *Son* to Jesus Christ, merely as the offspring of a human mother, miraculously conceived? The Reason of an Arian, or a Socinian, indeed, may experience prodigious relief from such an interpretation of Scripture; for the Socinian denies the pre-existence of Christ, and the Arian contends that he was only a created being. But what burden does it lift off from the Reason or the Conscience of an orthodox Trinitarian,—of an advocate for the co-essential and co-eternal Divinity of the WORD? If his Reason does not stumble at the orthodox interpretation of the first verses of St. John's Gospel, we cannot very well understand what other interruption it has to fear. If the Saviour whom we worship, *was with God, and was God*, from all eternity, of what importance, comparatively, can it be to us, by what human phrase his mysterious relation to the Father is indicated? When once it is allowed, (as it was allowed by Adam Clarke,) that the Divinity of the WORD is a "true and proper divinity," and that of this Divinity the Father is the source and fountain, it must inevitably follow that the Divinity of the Word, though perfect, is nevertheless derivative. And why should not the word *Son* be used to point out to us the distinction between that ineffable derivation of essence, and the mere result of creative energy? It was contended by the admirers of Adam Clarke's doctrine, that it removed a difficulty from the doctrine of the Trinity. It removes no difficulty deserving of the name. It *can* remove none,—unless the rejection of the title, the Son of God, in the catholic acceptance of it, be held to convey a negation of the pre-existence of Christ,—or, at least, to imply that he was only an exalted creature. Unless it does this, it gets rid of nothing that can be deemed mysterious; and the whole controversy shrinks into a dispute about the fitness of a word.

The publication of Richard Watson on this subject established his reputation as a sound and able divine. It was greatly admired by Robert Hall, who cordially wished it a very extensive circulation. An extensive circulation it certainly had; and there is no doubt that it did much to settle the wavering faith of many of his people. Some, however, there were among them who were unable to imagine that the work was dictated by any thing but a spirit of envy. It was supposed that the author sickened at the well-earned honours of the revered commentator. And there

were several who pertinaciously retained, to the end of their lives, the impression that Adam Clarke and Richard Watson were rivals of each other! Nothing could be more unrighteous, or more base, than these imputations. The tone and manner of Watson's "Remarks on the Eternal Sonship of Christ," was singularly temperate and respectful; and there is every reason for believing that his nature was utterly incapable of the hateful and ignominious motives, which were so unworthily ascribed to him. Adam Clarke himself appears to have been uninfected with these discreditable suspicions. For, although he vouchsafed not a syllable in reply to his antagonist, he afterwards joined most cordially in recommending Watson, as the fittest man that could be named to undertake the defence of Wesley's memory against the alleged misrepresentations of Mr. Southey.

We cannot quit this subject without soliciting the attention of the reader to the result of this brief controversy; namely, that the Conference resolved to admit into its body no man who denied the Divine and Eternal Sonship of Christ. Now here we have a very striking instance of the manner in which Creeds, and Articles, and Confessions of Faith, inevitably find their way into religious societies; and we urgently recommend it to the attention of those extremely liberal persons, who are in the habit of pouring upon such things all the phials of their indignation and contempt. In its infancy, a community may be comparatively free from these *odious* fetters of the conscience. But then there arises among them some turbulent, wrong-headed, or self-willed mortal, who is not content with the perfect liberty of his own conscience; but insists on disturbing the conscience of his brethren, by the publication of his own reasonings or reveries, upon matters which had never before been tossed into the arena of religious conflict. What then is to be done? Is the society to be made a sanctuary for the shelter of every imaginable heresy that can be engendered in the brain of man? And if this is not to be endured, how is the mischief to be prevented but by the establishment of a Test, which shall secure to the Scriptures, *which all acknowledge*, something like an uniformity of interpretation? This is the manner in which Creeds have been introduced into the Catholic Church of Christ. And this, too, is the manner in which all classes of men who are separated from her communion, must be content to ascertain the fidelity of their own members, and to preserve themselves from a miscellaneous *colluvies* of principles and opinions. These observations, it will be perceived, are not offered in the way of censure against the Wesleyans; but just the reverse. There can be no doubt, that, on this occasion, they adopted the only practicable method of keeping their own enclosure sacred from a dangerous perversion. But, with in-

stances like these before our eyes, it really does require some exercise of patience to listen calmly to the invectives, with which the Church is frequently assailed for her *bigoted* adherence to her own formularies and articles. Of one thing, however, we are profoundly convinced,—that there is not a Dissenting community in the realm that would not despise her, as heartily as many of them hate her, if she were to consent to the demolition of those barriers, which have been thrown around her by the zeal, the piety, and the learning of her Reformers.

But now let us come to the opinions and the feelings of Richard Watson, as exhibited in the present work, respecting certain other matters ; matters in themselves, perhaps, of subordinate importance, when compared with the prime and fundamental verities of the Catholic Faith ; but, nevertheless, of great moment at all times, and more especially interesting in these days of fierce sectarian agitation. We allude, of course, to his sentiments, and those of his communion, towards the National Religious Institutions of this empire. In the first place, then, it appears, that Watson, (and we may consider him as the representative of the most moderate and sound-hearted of his sect,) was, like the venerated founder of his society, habitually loyal ; an enemy to those who are given to change ; a decided adversary to all sweeping and precipitate reform. In the year 1806, he was engaged in the publication of a weekly paper, the prospectus of which is full of most excellent *Conservatism*. And then, with regard to the Church,—he always professed that he was no enemy to the Church ! On the contrary, he seems to have had frequent and filial yearnings towards her. He had gone out from her, it is true, and had sought a distinct settlement for himself. But he protested that he carried with him no undutiful or hostile feelings towards his ancient mother. He only complained that she was, now and then, rather too apt to scold at those of her children, who had gone from her household ; and that, in her ill-humour, she was a great deal too free in the use of the hard names, *Sectarian* and *Schismatic*. When he visited Oxford, there came over him a fit of devout reverence, almost amounting to enthusiasm.

“ The ancient and venerable appearance of the public buildings, sacred to learning, and the personal examples of virtue and profound scholarship connected with them in his recollections, all tended to awaken in his heart the most pleasurable emotions. Here, many of those master-spirits were disciplined, by whose writings his own studies had been directed, and his mind trained to wisdom and piety. *He used even to admire the dresses of that learned body, and took a lively interest in the particulars of a college life.*” [Said we not well, that Richard Watson would have been, assuredly and cordially, ours, had his early training been

such as to bring him within the sphere of all these generous influences?] “No man was better qualified than he to estimate the benefits of sound learning, particularly in connection with theology; and no man was ever more sincerely attached to the institutions of his country, especially those which bear upon its literature, religion, science, and legislation.”

To be sure, there was one rather awkward circumstance which took place during his visit, and which might have tended to dissipate, for a time, these glorious musings. For while Mr. Jabez Bunting was preaching, the Proctor, (being on the prowl for stray undergraduates, who might be tempted to witness these irregular services,) walked, *with an air of authority*, into the chapel; took his stand in one of the aisles; deliberately surveyed the congregation; and, finding no schismatical academic present, left the preacher to finish his discourse without further interruption or molestation.—(p. 226.)

It does not, however, appear that this very *untoward occurrence* gave any thing like a serious shock to his sentiments of veneration for the university, which was dear to his heart, as the nursery of Wesley.—His notions on the subject of education are worthy of all acceptance:—

“With the infidel systems of education, which assume that human nature is pure, and, therefore, needs no discipline but that of instruction, literary, scientific, and moral, he held no compromise, but waged a most determined war. All education he considered as radically defective, unless it comprehended a distinct and explicit knowledge of the nature and method of Salvation through the sacrifice of Christ, as well as a competent acquaintance with Christian duty. The polities erected and adorned by ancient nations were built like Babylon, with clay hardened only in the sun, and which has long become a mass of ruin, undistinguished from its parent earth. They were without perpetuity, because they were without the elements of it. The fabric of their grandeur had tumbled down, because it was not combined with the imperishable principles of virtue; and their want of virtue resulted from their want of religion. Athens mourning along the galleries of our public museums, over the frail *Ægis* of her Minerva, admonishes us to put our trust within the shadow of the impenetrable shield of the truth of the living God.”

His own religious loyalty, and that of the Conference, were nobly manifested in an address to the Methodist Societies in 1819:—

“Remember,” he says, “you belong to a Religious Society which has, from the beginning, explicitly recognized as high and essential parts of Christian duty, *to fear God, and honour the King*; to submit to magistrates for conscience sake. You are surrounded with persons to whom these duties are objects of contempt and ridicule. Show your regard for them, because they are the doctrines of your Saviour. Abhor those publications in which they are assailed, along with every other doctrine of your holy religion; and judge of the spirit and objects of those, who

would deceive you into political parties and associations, by the vices of their lives, and the infidel malignity of their words and writings." "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?"—p. 271—273.

His notions of *unity*, in religious matters, are very distinctly set forth in his speech at the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1830. In this address, he professes to consider, as among the most interesting effects of such meetings and associations, their tending to abolish the *sectarian* spirit. And here we must, of course, expect to find him speaking the language of all religious parties who have contrived to reconcile their conscience to a deliberate separation from the one Apostolic Church.

"It is very true," he says, "we might go on, as the various religious bodies went on formerly. *The Established Church might throw on us a look of haughty contempt, and we might return it with a scowl of defiance.* We and our Calvinistic brethren might wrathfully erect our quinquarticular controversy, and dip our pens in gall. And our excellent friends, the Baptists, might convert the waters of the Sanctuary into waters of bitterness and separation. All this might be done; and, perhaps, the common Father might, in pity, deal better with us than we were disposed to deal with one another."

And then, after enlarging on the milder and more comprehensive spirit which had softened off the lines of division between the various denominations of Christianity, he proceeds thus:—

"It has been a frequent and favourite metaphor, with many eminent writers and speakers on this subject, to compare the paternal union of the Churches to the union of the colours in the rainbow; and a very beautiful metaphor it is. It was not, till lately, that the Church has been entitled to this comparison. For, if formerly it was like one, it was so distinct in its hues of colour, and with edges so sharp and defined, that they seemed intended to cut each other through the whole span of the arch. For my part, I do not admire such a rainbow as this. Neither could I be much taken with a rainbow of one colour only. I am afraid we should begin to dispute as to what colour this should be. And, if we agreed as to that, we should not long rest satisfied with it. One party would wish to have it enlivened with a little more red; and another would have it sobered with a little more *purple*. For my part, I am contented with the rainbow of nature, with its distinct, but commingling hues, soft, beautiful, varied, one. And if we could see all the Churches of Christ worthy to be compared to such an appearance, we might, in the language of one of the writers of the Apocrypha, say, '*When thou seest the rainbow, bless Him that made it. Very glorious is it to behold; and the hands of the Almighty have bended it.*' And I have no desire that the union of the Churches should be more perfect than this, till we enter into the bright and colourless light of eternity, and see, eye to eye, and face to face."—p. 499.

As a further proof of his *Catholic* temper, his biographer apprizes us that Watson even went so far as to express his persuasion, that

"Among that part of the Clergy who are *not* usually denominated Evangelical, and the attendants upon their ministry, there is far more sincere piety than some warm religionists are disposed to admit ; though somewhat of an ascetic (*ascetic?*) kind, and not so aggressive and missionary in its character as is desirable. In short, uncharitableness he regarded as a sin ; and greatly admired that universal benevolence which Mr. Wesley inculcated and exemplified. One of the characters of genuine Methodism, he said, is, that it is abhorrent from the spirit of *Sectarianism*. It meets upon the common ground of loving the Lord Jesus in sincerity."—p. 647.

Now, it cannot be denied that all this sounds very soothing and delightful. It would be irresistibly pacific, if one could but forget two things : first, that there may, after all, be some serious danger lest all manner of unsound principles should stealthily creep in, beneath the ample folds of this mantle of Christian liberality : and secondly, that there still survives upon the earth, in many quarters, a strong persuasion, that a wilful departure from the practice and the constitution of primitive Christianity, involves—we must write it—the guilt of Schism : so that, even in these enlightened times, there are actually multitudes of honest, well-informed, and learned men, who—when they behold the apparition of many-coloured unity, above presented to us—are tempted to distrust this beautiful metaphor, and to exclaim, with a very different image in their thoughts,—

*Aut hæc in nostros fabricata est machina muros ;
Aut aliquis latet error.*

And as we, ourselves,—bigots that we are!—are not free from such apprehensions, we hope that we, too, shall be pardoned for saying a word or two on the *beautiful metaphor* in question. The physical rainbow, then, as every one knows, is a phenomenon produced by the separation and untwisting of the various-coloured rays, of which the uniform and candid blaze of the solar light is composed. And we know that every colour exhibited in the *spectrum* is equally from heaven. But we are unable to discern any satisfactory resemblance between this appearance and the *ecclesiastical rainbow* which delights the imagination of Richard Watson. We cannot be at all sure that the light of God's will is capable of this sort of decomposition and analysis. At all events, we cannot be sure that God hath endowed the moral elements in which we live with any such analogous powers of *reflexion*, or *refraction*, as shall *faithfully* convey to the eye of the spirit the component rays of that glorious and perfect emanation. When, therefore, we look upon this varied collection of tints, we cannot be certain there may not be some optical delusion. We can feel no assurance that God hath here set his bow in the heavens, or that the hands of the Almighty

have bended it. We cannot confidently regard it as the token of peace, or a pledge that the fountains of the great deep shall be no more broken up, and that the deluge of religious confusion shall not rise again above the summits of our mountains.

Let us, however, quit the region of beautiful metaphors, and return to a sober prosaic view of Richard Watson's Methodism. It was, we are told,

"Of a purely Wesleyan character. He was no *theoretic Dissenter*. He cherished no feelings of hostility to the religious establishment of his country. An Established Church, recognizing the grand principles of Evangelical truth, and accompanied by a legal protection to all who prefer a different creed and mode of worship, he declared to be, in his view, the most likely means of promoting true religion and morality, and, by consequence, the national welfare. He was far, indeed, from thinking that the Church of England had done all that she ought to have done for the instruction and spiritual benefit of the people. But her formularies embody all the vital truths of Christianity. Her services keep the subject of religion continually before the public mind. Not a few of her Clergy have been, and still are, among the most useful and exemplary of the ministers of Christ: and her general influence is therefore great and salutary. In his writings he speaks of her as 'the mother of us all;' and he describes the *sanctified* and profound erudition embodied in the works of her Divines, as 'the light of Christendom.' It was not, indeed, either his wish or his hope, that the Church should sanction all the functionaries and machinery of Methodism; or that the Methodists should abandon any of the peculiarities of their discipline, which had been of such great utility in promoting the interests of religion: for this, he thought, would be beneficial to neither party, *and would require from both such a sacrifice of principle as they ought not to make*. But he was desirous that the Methodists should always stand in a friendly relation to the Church, aiming not at party purposes, but simply at the advancement of true religion. His admiration of the Liturgy was unbounded: and he greatly enjoyed the use of it in the Wesleyan chapels on the Sunday morning. Its beauties as a literary composition recommended it to his fine taste: but it was more strongly endeared to him by the spirit of pure and elevated devotion which it breathes. *When he was confined to the house, he read it with his family*, as a substitute for public worship: and he said to the writer of these pages, about a year before his death, that *if he were a private individual, and there were no Methodist Congregation with whom he could meet in Divine worship, he should attend the religious services of the Established Church in preference to any others, because of the solemnity and order which are secured by the use of the Liturgy*. To the public reading of so large a portion of the Holy Scriptures, in the services of the Church of England, he also referred as a peculiar excellence. These sentiments were not the result of prejudice and early habit, but of observation and deep thought." —pp. 660, 661.

With regard to the opening words of the above extract, we must confess that we feel ourselves in a hopeless state of puzzle-

ment! *Watson was no theoretic Dissenter.* Now, what can this mean? That he was a Dissenter in practice, is beyond all question. Are we then to understand that his practice and his theory were at variance with each other?—or do the words merely import that he did not consider Nonconformity as among the first duties of a good citizen or a good Christian? The *theory* of dissent, if we rightly understand it, is simply this: that every man may, consistently with the mind of Christ, chuse whether he will, or will not, obey the Bishop of his Diocese; whether he will worship in the Church or the Conventicle; whether he will adhere to a ministry episcopally ordained, or whether he will follow the spiritual guidance of any individual who takes from the civil magistrate a licence to preach, or whether he will sometimes do the one, and sometimes the other, as may best suit the convenience, or the fancy, of the moment. Whether this theory be right or wrong, we are not now considering. But that such actually *is* the theory of dissent, can hardly be a matter of dispute. And if any man acts and speaks, advisedly and deliberately, according to this theory, we are quite unable to divine what can be in his brain, when he tells us that, in spite of all this, he is no *theoretic Dissenter*.

The rest of the above manifesto—for such we are willing to consider it—is, so far as it goes, extremely important, and highly satisfactory. It not only disclaims hostility to the Church, as one of many denominations; but it expresses something like a filial attachment to her; and it acknowledges her influence to be great and salutary; and it professes a conviction that, *as a National Establishment*, the Church of England is a mighty instrument for the preservation of sound morality, and religion pure and undefiled; and consequently, that she is the best guardian of the national welfare. All this is undoubtedly excellent. It cannot, indeed, be fairly considered as amounting to any thing like a disclaimer of the *theory* of Dissent. But it does exhibit Dissent in its least forbidding form; as divested of its bristling defiance, and its malignant scowl: and for this, among other reasons, we cordially deplore that Richard Watson was not spared for a longer time. Were he still among us, he would hear a very different language from his own, among the furious utterances of discontent and nonconformity; he would hear something more than “curses not loud but deep.” The outcry would reach him from the open *gathering together of the froward*; and it would tell him that the Establishment, which still had a place in his heart, was utterly unworthy of one spark of his attachment,—that the Church of England has destroyed more souls than it has saved,—that what is called her union with the State is unnatural, pernicious, and abominable; that National Religious Establishments are without the sanction of God’s revealed will,—nay, in

direct opposition to the spirit of his Gospel. And, we must add, that the clamour would reach his ears, swelled by the voices of some who call themselves after the name of Wesley. And, from another quarter, he would be astounded with the tidings that the Christian Universities of our land,—the places which he venerated as the nurseries of profound and *sanctified* erudition—are menaced with an invasion, not only from every region of Nonconformity, but from every corner of *Doctrinal* dissent, or it may be, from every limbo of scepticism, and every depth of infidelity;—that the honour of academic degrees, and the administration of academic interests, is confidently demanded by men, who spurn aside every test whereby their religious profession, or no-profession, may be made known. Whether such things are just, or honest, or lovely, or of good report, we leave to the judgment of thoughtful, conscientious, and religious men. But, be this as it may, such are the things which Richard Watson would be doomed to hear, if he were now in the flesh. And we ask,—if he had any such regard for the Church of England, as his biographer ascribes to him, and as his writings testify,—with this outcry echoing around him, could he be silent? If he really loved the seminaries dedicated to sound learning and religious education—could he be silent? If he had any care of his own reputation for consistency—could he be silent? And we ask, too, of his devoted followers,—we ask of them who profess to honour his memory, and to revere his virtues, and to speak his words, and to think his thoughts,—can they be silent?

For our own part, we are well pleased that certain of the sons of Nonconformity have recently spoken out; and this so plainly, that all who value the Establishment, must now be in full possession of the mind of their adversaries,—unless, indeed, a judicial dulness hath stopped their ears, and a judicial infatuation descended upon their hearts. We say that we are well pleased at this. And we say it, *not* in a spirit of insolent challenge and defiance; but, simply, because we think it best that they *should* speak out; because we are anxious to get at the *true* state of the public mind; because we conceive, that, if there be a rancorous malignity fermenting, it will be far less dangerous that it should break forth into an angry eruption, than that it should be “mining all within, and infect unseen,” while a film of outward courtesy and moderation skins over “the ulcerous place.” We are sometimes assured, with respect to the vociferous remonstrants in question, that these be only the men of Belial; but that there be many others of the brotherhood far more moderate in speech, and “in act more graceful and humane;” men whose hearts are sounder, and whose words are not so stout. How this may be, we know not. But this we know,—that the men of Belial—(if such they be)—

have the voice of a Boanerges; and that their number, (even though it should eventually turn out to be comparatively small), is enough, in positive amount, to invest them, in the public eye, with the name and attributes of *Legion*. We should, therefore, be well satisfied that the men of moderation should speak out likewise. If it be true, that there is still among the numerous tribes and families of dissent, a large body of wise, and charitable, and sober-minded men, who have no hard thoughts, or sinister designs, against the National Establishment, and who rather deprecate than invoke the powers at work for its downfall—if this, in truth, be so,—why, then we could wish that they would even give the world the benefit of their wisdom, and their charity, and their sobriety of mind. And this they can do, only by assembling themselves together, and lifting up their voice, and manifesting their strength, until *the enemy and the avenger* shall be stripped of all pretence for boasting his concentration of power and unanimity of purpose. How else is the Church to know her friends from her enemies, in the multitude of them that stand looking upon her afar off? How, otherwise, is the Legislature to know, whether the petitions, which load its table, speak the general sense of the great fraternity of separation; or whether they merely represent and express the superior energy and zeal of a *destructive* faction? Above all—we call upon the Wesleyans to be open and free-spoken. If they are ready to join the *destructive* faction,—even let them say so. If, on the contrary, they think and feel, for the most part, with Richard Watson, and with men like him, again we cry—even let them come forward, and say so. If they are a divided body, as touching this question,—if they are halting between two opinions, so that their tongue cleaves to the roof of their mouth, and their right hand forgets its cunning, and cannot trace their signature to resolution, remonstrance, or petition, either way,—what will the public conclude, but that their occasional expressions of respect for the Church, are nothing more than the “faint praise” which, virtually, speaketh of condemnation; and that, at best, they are resolved upon a sort of armed neutrality?

We repeat,—that we say not these things in a spirit of challenge, or of petulance, or of ill humour, or of arrogance. We know that, in this glorious land of freedom, all men, and women, and children, have a full right to entertain their opinions, and their designs: and, on this most important question, our only wish is to ascertain what their designs and their opinions may be. And, for this reason it is, that we desire nothing so much, as that all sorts and conditions of men should *speak out*. The intemperate, and the turbulent, and the revolutionary, have already spoken out, with a vengeance. Let those of a different stamp follow their

example, and do likewise. And most urgently do we exhort the laity, who are in communion with the Establishment not to *keep still silence*, in the crisis of this fierce arbitrement. If they really have one spark of love and veneration for the Church of their fathers—if they would not see a vast machinery, which has been at work, through many a generation, for the best and holiest of purposes, broken up, and hewn in pieces, and cast into the fire,—if it would pity them to behold our Zion sinking into ruins, and to hear the savage yell, *down with her even to the ground*,—then, let them up and be doing, and quit themselves like men on her behalf. For let the laity consider,—if few or none but the clergy are heard to speak, in this hour of peril, what will the adversary say?—why, truly, that the *parsons* are in sore alarm, for their stalls, and their rectories, and their glebe, and their tenth sheaf, and their tenth haycock; and that, therefore, their remonstrances are nothing more than the cry of sordid hirelings, who, while they talk of our ancient and venerable Church, are thinking of nothing under heaven but her fat emoluments. This, most infallibly, will be the commentary of the *destructive* party, on the testimony of the clergy, if that testimony be not loudly and vigorously echoed by those who value and love their ministry. That the majority who honour the Church, and wish her preservation, is overwhelming, we have very little doubt. But what is the worth of a majority which speaketh not, and voteth not, when the question is put,—as it has been lately put; and put, at the instance of men who are ready to speak, and vote, and act, and to call forth all their faculties and resources in order to carry the question their own way? Something, indeed, has already been done to bring out the sentiments and the energies of the *Great Congregation*. But much more must still be done, and that promptly, or the cause will be in danger to be lost and betrayed, through very sluggishness. There must be no *muttering out of the dust*. There must be the shout, as it were of a mighty host. There must be a general *κελευσμός*, which may speak in the enemy's ear of confidence and of victory. They who are *quiet in the land*, may, perchance, think it enough to assist the cause with their prayers. And too instant in prayer such persons cannot be; and too high an estimate cannot be placed on this resource, in the season of peril and adversity,—provided always, that it be attended with a befitting course of visible exertion. But will Providence answer the prayers of them who, in times like these, are fervent only in their closets? Will God prosper the vows of men, whose hands are folded, while their eyes and their hearts are lifted up towards heaven?

Of course there are many who will listen with incredulous

hatred when we say it,—but we will say it nevertheless,—that our anxiety for the preservation of the Establishment is not prompted by an ambitious wish to see the *ecclesiastical rainbow* turned all to *purple* or to gold. We are speaking to the *hearts* of our people; and, while we do this, our thoughts are fixed on something far higher and better than the mere visible splendours of our hierarchy, and the imposing majesty of the towers and battlements of our Zion. We are pleading with this nation, in behalf of a system which may perhaps want reparation; but which, with all its alleged defects, has hitherto brought home the consolations and the hopes of religion to the cottages of the poor, with a promptness and effect, which no other system ever can accomplish. We are pleading against a destruction, which, if once achieved, would bring upon this land the *abomination which maketh desolate*, and would spread over our villages the curse of a spiritual destitution. Our words may be rejected by those who believe, or affect to believe, that all true churchmen are in bondage to illiberal prejudice, or mercenary craft. But, surely, our words cannot altogether fall to the ground. Surely, there must be faithful hearts yet left to echo them, and faithful hands to give them substance and effect.*

Neither are we conscious that our speech is dictated by any feeling akin to disrespect, or evil will, towards Dissenters,—merely as Dissenters. We cannot, it is true, persuade ourselves that schism has altogether ceased to be a sin. But then we well know how many circumstances there are, in our present condition of society, to palliate and dilute the guilt of schism. With many, dissent is a mere accident. With others, unfortunately, it almost is an absolute necessity. We know,—and we confess it with an aching heart,—that if every Dissenter in the realm were, at this moment, to profess his readiness to abandon the conventicle, and to return to the bosom of the Church, the Church would be in sore perplexity to provide an immediate reception for the sheep that had wandered from her fold. But we also know, that the Church, and the Dissenting connections together, have been hitherto found utterly unequal to the work of making adequate provision, conformably to their own respective systems, for the spiritual necessities of our swarming and surging population. And, with this melancholy fact before their eyes, why should the Dissenters accuse or suspect us of an offensive disregard for the rights of conscience, because we dread to see the Church shorn of her strength, and crippled in her means of usefulness?

* We are happy to perceive that, while we are writing, the spirit of the laity appears to be rousing itself.

Equally unjust would be the surmise, that we desire to stop the ears of the legislature against the grievances of those who are separated from the Church. If grievances there be, let them be instantly redressed. But surely we may be allowed to put forth our honest opinion as to what grievances are substantial, and what are not! The Dissenters ask for the benefit of a more effective registration. By all means, let them have it, if a practicable and beneficial scheme can be devised for that purpose. They, further, desire that their weddings may be celebrated, without the religious ministrations of the Church. Even so let it be, if any other plan can be constructed, for effectually preventing the intolerable mischief of clandestine marriage. But they likewise demand the use of our burial-places, in common with the clergy of the Establishment. And this claim the Church must conscientiously resist, for reasons which have been so often stated, that they need not be recited here. They insist, moreover, that the law of the land should leave the Churches and the Chapels of the Establishment without the slightest protection against dilapidation and decay. And this too is a demand which, if there be a vestige of justice left on earth, must be rejected—upon grounds which have been of late so incessantly reiterated, that it would only weary our readers to repeat them. And, lastly, they cry out, loudly and fiercely, for a dissolution of the union between the Church and State. And, in truth, if Church-rates are to be altogether abolished, they will, virtually, have achieved the main substance of their petition. For how can the State more effectually divorce itself from the Church, than by abandoning her places of worship to individual benevolence and disinterestedness? But there is still more than this involved in the project. There can be little doubt that the expulsion of the prelates from the legislature, and the consignment of the clergy to arbitrary and precarious support, both of them enter into this sweeping plan of separation. And, if so, all that we can say of it here, is this,—that we cannot imagine a more ruinous insult to the Church, than the ejection of her bishops from a position which they have occupied from the very beginning of our Constitution,—and that, as to the *voluntary system* for the maintenance of her ministers, it amounts to neither more nor less than a scheme of unprincipled spoliation; to say nothing of its miserable effects in the degradation of the clergy, and the consequent mutilation of their influence and usefulness.

One word more, and we have done. We have hitherto spoken of the Church, merely as a national establishment. But there is yet a higher view of the Church, to which we must now lift up our eyes. We must recall our thoughts to her claims upon her children, as a branch of the pure, Catholic, Apostolic Church

of Christ. Whether, as an *Establishment*, she will stand or fall, must depend on circumstances more various than human sagacity can fully search into. Whether she will stand or fall, as a portion of Christ's inheritance, must depend only on one thing,—whether or not she is prepared to be *faithful unto death*. Stand she cannot, if she forgets the words which the spirit once spake unto the churches. Fall she cannot, if she be worthy to hear it said unto her, *I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them that are evil; and hast tried them that say they are Apostles, and are not; and hast borne, and hast patience, and, for my name's sake, hast laboured, and hast not fainted*. Some few things, indeed, there may be against her. But if she suffer not the flame of her first love to expire—if she keep her lamp trimmed by the spirit of repentance and of godly fear,—her candlestick shall, surely, not be removed from its place. The Powers and Principalities of this world may, indeed, remove themselves from her light. The multitudes may go astray after *strange fires*, or may walk in darkness. But, even so, her lonely brightness shall still be seen in the land; and it shall gladden the countenances and the hearts of the few that may remain faithful unto her, in the season of her tribulation. The Church of England may, then, indeed, be no more. But the Church in England shall remain, to bear witness to the truth of God. It is true, that it becometh her not to rush into this furnace of temptation, or to do aught that may hasten the fiery trial of her faith. But still less doth it become her to *defile her garments*, or to endure that the spirit of Balaam should come among her people, to tempt them to unfaithfulness, and to cause them to do sacrifice unto the idols of the day. It is not thus that she can hope to disarm her adversaries. But it is thus that she may arm against herself *Him that trieth the hearts and reins, and who shall give unto her according to her works*. Let her not dream, then, of listening to the flatteries of them, who with fair and deceitful words would win from her the secret of her strength. Neither let her seek, by yielding, and by wavering, and by counsels of feebleness and of pliancy,—to gather around her a multitude, whose heart is not right with her heart. Rather let her *strengthen the things that do remain*. Let her, calmly and stedfastly, hold fast the foundations whereon she is built up. For thus may she best hope to hear the gracious words, *Behold, I will make them, which say they are Israelites, and are not, to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee. Because thou hast kept the words of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth*.

ART. II.—1. *The Pulpit, &c. &c.*

2. *The Preacher, containing Sermons by eminent Divines.*—
London: Published for the proprietors, by T. Griffith.

3. *The British Pulpit; a Selection of accurately reported Sermons by the most talented Evangelical Divines of every Denomination.*

4. *The Minister, &c. &c.*

5. *The Scottish Pulpit, &c. &c.*

FROM the number of these publications, we suppose that they are found profitable. The names of five we have prefixed to this article; and it is very possible that there are several more, either in existence or in contemplation. Yet, although the sale may be lucrative to the proprietors, and the circulation may seem conducive to the spread of religious knowledge, we feel it our duty to denounce the whole system with a very decided expression of disgust and indignation.

For what is that system? It is a system either of shameless quackery, or of downright plunder. The sermons must be published either with or without the consent and knowledge of the writers. Let us begin with the latter branch of the alternative.

A man, Mr. Benson, for instance, eminent for learning, and remarkable for eloquence, preaches a discourse at the Temple, or elsewhere. Surely, as to the pecuniary value which it may possess, that discourse belongs to him, as being the offspring of his own mind, the result of his own study, and the fruit of his own thoughts. Surely it cannot belong to a stranger, who comes, not in the spirit of piety, to hear it and act upon it; but in the spirit of piratical traffic, to report and publish it. Yet what happens? In a week, it is put forth to the world, perhaps faithfully, perhaps inaccurately; it is committed to the press without the benefit of the author's revision, without the changes and corrections which further consideration might have suggested. Thus, not merely the intention of the preacher himself may be anticipated; but it is anticipated in a way, which on a multitude of grounds he conscientiously disapproves, and would anxiously deprecate. Nor is it easy to remedy the mischief by the appearance of the same production in an authorized shape, on account of the peculiar cheapness of the previous publication:—a cheapness which can be so well afforded where there is no copyright to be bought, and no labour to be repaid. It follows, therefore, that there *must* be a robbery of the purse, and there *may* be a robbery of the reputation. And to so monstrous an extent has

this scheme of plunder been pursued, that we have seen four or five consecutive sermons of the same clergymen printed in one or other of these precious receptacles of stolen goods. Their agents have rushed to seize and bear away all that should drop from the lips of a popular preacher; like sharks pursuing a vessel, and swallowing every unfortunate body that should chance to fall overboard. When similar attempts have been made in other cases, as in the case of medical or scientific lectures, if they could not be reached by legal penalties, they have been uniformly met by moral reprobation; but when men are guilty of these barefaced thefts, with *religious* professions dribbling meanwhile from their mouths, they sink even beneath the level of the lowest and dirtiest speculators in the bookselling and publishing trade. In some instances, enough has been gathered from the composition of one man to form an entire volume, and for *whose* benefit, let us ask, has such volume been separately published?

But there is the other branch of the alternative also to be regarded. These sermons may be—and we suspect, from the internal evidence, that many of them are—published with the express sanction and connivance of their authors. *Here*, then, there is no robbery; but the charlatanism is sickening. The title-page either runs as follows, “The Preacher, containing Sermons by the following *eminent* divines,” “The British Pulpit, a selection of *accurately reported* Sermons by the most *talented* (Pah!) Evangelical Divines of every denomination,” or is stuffed with rubbish of a similar description; and the impression conveyed to the public manifestly is, that the discourses are by men so distinguished in their profession, that reporters are sent to take down their valuable, or rather invaluable, paragraphs for the benefit of an admiring generation. If then a minister of the Gospel forwards his own sermon to the editor for publication, he smuggles it before the world under false pretences; or at least is not only *privy* to the miserable device, but is *instrumental* in puffing himself as “an *eminent* divine,” “a *talented* evangelical divine;” a diamond of the first water in the cabinet of “The Preacher” or “The Pulpit.” Let such a clergyman reflect seriously for one moment, what feelings would be excited, if he published a single discourse in his own name, with the title-page, “A sermon by that *eminent* divine, the Rev. —;” or, “A sermon by that *talented*, evangelical divine, the Rev. —.” Yet what is the difference, if it appears among others with his knowledge and consent in the pages of “The Preacher;” or, “The British Pulpit;” except that a shuffling subterfuge is thus added to an empiricism the most awful? Unless our schoolboy recollections deceive us, Cicero reproaches the philosophers of his day

with inconsistency, because they inscribed their names upon treatises written to recommend the "contempt of glory;" but is it not a far more lamentable inconsistency, if evangelical divines, with whom the utter worthlessness of human knowledge and human ability is a favourite theme, should be the clandestine means of announcing and trumpeting themselves as the most eminent and talented of their tribe? What can we think, to see, as we have seen, the "*affiche*" stuck over the principal entrance of an episcopal chapel, "The Preacher, No. —, containing sermons by the Lord Bishop of London," and, of all the birds in the air, by the very minister, or lecturer, whichever it may be, of that identical chapel; who thus manages to make the walls of the house of prayer in which he does the duty, a place for placarding and advertising his own sermons,—and *himself*!

But we may go a step further. Both the evils which we have mentioned are blended in these compilations. They are *half* robbery, and *half* quackery; for in the same number, possibly, of the same work, some are parties and some are victims to the system; and from this combination there arises the third evil, of palpable unfairness and injustice. Not merely the discourses of men, really distinguished and really meriting their distinction, are put side by side with the discourses of some pushing aspirant to a vulgar notoriety; but they are put side by side to their great and obvious disadvantage. Not merely the Bishop of London, or Mr. Benson, or Mr. Tyler, or Mr. Blunt, has the comfort of beholding himself exhibited in juxta position to some candidate for every lectureship that falls vacant; but the sermon of the one is disfigured by sundry omissions and misrepresentations; the sermon of the other is embellished by the author's careful emendations and the longest and most astounding words that have been just imported into the author's vocabulary.

Still, however, it may be said, that these are matters which affect only individuals; and that if the cause of piety is advanced by the circulation of striking sermons, there remains a preponderance on the side of good to which we should look, rather than to the mere bug-bears of personal inconvenience. Now, this is a ground upon which we are quite willing to try the question, putting away all considerations of individual interest or feeling, the grievance and the annoyance which may be experienced on the one hand, and the dishonest cupidity which is exhibited on the other.

Is most good, or most harm, likely to result to the *public*, from a series of periodical publications, made up partly of unauthorized reports of discourses delivered from the pulpit, and partly of voluntary contributions, sent after an ambitious elaboration by

the authors themselves, yet carrying with them the semblance of being mere reports of the compositions of eminent divines?

It is clear at the first blush that the very heterogeneousness of such works offers a temptation to a species of imposition and trickery which is excessively to be deplored; and that, at least, the reports and the contributions ought always to be distinguished from each other by some broad mark or notice, which would leave no room for deception or mistake.

Something, too, it is equally plain, might be said about the indecorum of men, who form no part of the stated audience, coming into a church with the regular apparatus of reporting, and distracting the attention of a congregation during the period of divine service. So much, indeed, has this nuisance been felt, that the proprietors, we believe, of one, if not more, of these compilations, endeavoured for some time to fill their space without employing reporters, and by merely receiving the contributions of ministers of different sects. They have since, however, we understand, returned to the old system, because the supply of volunteers was found inadequate to their purposes:—but whether the deficiency was in the quantity, or in the quality of the matter, or in both, we cannot take upon ourselves to say.

Yet here perhaps it will be urged, “must not this system of watching preachers, and taking down their sermons in shorthand, without any previous intimation, have a tendency to improve, or certainly not deteriorate, the general character of pulpit ministrations; of the delivery as well as the composition, and the composition as well as the delivery? To this proposition we are inclined to say, “*negatur*.” Not to enlarge upon higher and more sacred motives, or upon the impulse of professional hopes, or upon the superintendence of an ecclesiastical superior, a healthy and vigorous state of public opinion, which can always make itself heard and respected, is at once the best check and the best stimulus, and it acts upon all clergymen with an equal and universal impression. But upon careless and inefficient ministers, the system of reporting has no influence whatever; for their very dulness or negligence is their shield; their very incapacity is a complete panoply of protection; and they are left to a sluggish repose, quite certain of being uninterrupted by a visitation from any agent of “*The Pulpit*,” or “*The Preacher*.” The interference, therefore, of these gentry, can only affect either the active and conscientious ministers, who neither require such an intrusion, nor are thankful for it; or the shewy declaimers, eager for celebrity and applause, whose efforts stand much more in need of being chastened and kept down, than of being blown into a fiercer

flame of excited extravagance by the bellows of monthly or weekly notoriety.

Upon active and conscientious clergymen, what, in fact, is the operation of this system? We can call it by no other name, for a regular system it has become. Their sermons, perhaps, have a local and temporary application, or are illustrated, at least, by temporary and local illusions; for such sermons are oftentimes the most useful that can be preached. They may deem it incumbent upon them to address to their constant hearers exhortations, or admonitions, or even reproofs, which have a special and emphatic bearing upon their particular exigencies or behaviour. But is it not a hard thing,—is it not a vexatious thing,—is it not a pernicious thing, that they can in no respect remain masters of the degree of publicity which is to be given to their own statements; and that the earnest appeals which are made in the endearing and confidential intercourse between a minister and his congregation should be blazoned forth in the window of a bookseller's shop, and scattered all abroad upon the wings of a three-penny periodical? Do the reports of legal trials, or political meetings, afford any precedent or apology for so gross an abuse of the freedom of the press?

Again: on many occasions a clergyman may very fairly and very advantageously avail himself of the labours of older divines. On many occasions it may be more instructive and more edifying to his congregation that he should enrich his discourses with the erudition and the eloquence of the great and good men who are now gone to their everlasting reward; or, where there is some important point which he is anxious to inculcate, he may be unwilling to injure it by his own words, if it already happens to have been admirably put in the words of another. Thus he may gain much experience and much profit by trying the effect of a style different from his own; his deficiencies may be supplied; his crude conceptions may be matured; and his auditory may derive strength and refreshment from drinking at fountains not open, perhaps, to common access, or at least lying far out of the path of common inquiry. Of course, if a clergyman has no better or more elevated object than to avoid trouble; if he consults merely his personal ease and not the spiritual wants and interests of his hearers, he stands without excuse before them and before God. Nor let it be imagined that we can think any man justifiable who makes a practice of stealing his sermons; or that we can look with eyes of complacency upon advertisements in the papers when they inform us, that a set of sermons is to be sold, either in manuscript or lithograph, warranted, like a Monmouth-street coat, to have been very little used, and to be almost as good as new; or

that we can hold any such announcement or any such transactions as calculated to benefit the Church in times like these. But a wholesale and unblushing transfer presents something widely different from an examination of preceding authors and an occasional introduction of their remarks, for the purpose of throwing a stronger light upon the matter under discussion. Nor will it be denied, that in this latter case it would often be extremely awkward to make an exact appropriation in the pulpit; that is, to pause, here and there, in the course of a sermon, and state precisely what is original and what is borrowed; nay, where the quotations or thoughts taken from other sources are woven into the sense and texture of the discourse, it becomes manifestly impossible. And yet is it not an offensive, an almost intolerable proceeding, that when a clergyman has been guilty neither of sloth or fraud, but, nevertheless, has availed himself of extraneous assistance, a reporter should come and carry off his discourse, in order to put money into the pockets of some unprincipled employer; that it should be published and placarded as a Sermon delivered in such a place, on such a day, by the Rev. Mr. Such-a-one: so that a minister is liable to be pilloried and gibbeted, not merely as a plagiarist but an impostor; to incur the suspicion not merely of doing habitually what he has, perhaps, only done on some special occasion, but even of attempting to print and palm upon the world the production of another as his own? This is no imaginary representation; for two instances, if not more, have already occurred.

We confess, however, that the pain, which so needless an exposure may inflict, although the very apprehension of it must have a tendency to render sermons more jejune and barren of sterling theology, and therefore less serviceable than they might otherwise be, appears of far less consequence to our minds, than the gratuitous impertinence of a stranger, who steps in between a minister and his flock, and makes public what was meant only to be parochial. It is a most serious evil that the effect of the system, which we are decrying, will be, if it spreads much farther, to strike at the root of all quiet, pastoral and parochial ministration. An aspiring minister, if he once sees his sermons reported, may begin, from that moment, to consider himself not so much the incumbent or curate of a particular district, as a burning and a shining light, who is to illuminate the whole country with a flood of eloquence; he may thenceforward address himself not so much to his congregation as to the press through the reporter; he is under a potent enticement to look beyond the humbler portion of the audience, which may be sitting beneath him, and to say not so much what will introduce a truly Christian tone of feeling and conduct among the immediate members of the Church who are

committed to his charge, as what will show off his own powers of fancy or diction when it appears in print. Besides, the contagion of his example must be taken into the calculation. Emulation starts up; or the fiercer irritations of envy rankle in the breast of others. A hundred uncomfortable and uncharitable feelings are engendered among rival preachers; or a young man, not long initiated in his sacred profession, and not knowing the aspect under which these things are regarded by the persons best able to appreciate them, is warmed with an inordinate desire to see his name enrolled among the "eminent divines" and "talented ministers" of the age. There is no reason, his vanity whispers to him, why he should not beam forth as another star in such a galaxy. And the method, which obviously suggests itself for the accomplishment of his end, is to imitate the prevailing style, of which the success is visible before him; and even to surpass it in brilliancy of decoration; to screw up strong doctrine to a still higher pitch; to excel energetic declamation by an energy still more intense; to *broad-cast* his metaphors still more thickly and profusely than his predecessors, and add yet another syllable to the average *sesquipedalianness* of his words.

The effect, again, upon readers and hearers travels, *pari passu*, with the effect upon ministers. Great is the stir among the sermon-hunters and preacher-fanciers of the day. These constitute the chief class of persons who peruse such works as "The Pulpit," and keep up their circulation; for the irreligious and the reckless have little disposition to read, and still less to purchase them. But the former class are perpetually on the watch for the appearance of a new light on the horizon; they are happy in the opportunity of starting off to a new place and a new preacher, that they may have something fresh to eulogize or criticize; some novel display to tickle the ear, and keep the imagination upon the stretch, and pamper the vitiated taste. The injury which must thus be done to the cause of sober, steady, regular devotion, is but poorly compensated by the collateral and casual excitement of religious sentiments, too often of a bewildering and enthusiastic kind; nor can we consent to take an incidental and possible benefit as at all a counterbalance for the variety of inherent evils which we have already pointed out, and the multitude behind which it would be easy to specify.

We acknowledge also that we cannot look without considerable misgiving to that mixture of "evangelical divines of every denomination," which is a conspicuous, and, we believe, an universal feature in these selections of sermons. It does strike us as unbecoming as well as extraordinary to see, among these "most talented divines," in one number the names and composi-

tious of three English Bishops; and in the next, of the Rev. Mr. Sherman and the Rev. R. C. Dillon, A. M.; and in one very near it, the names and compositions of *two* Dissenting Ministers, and even of the person who is supposed to have written the "Case of the Dissenters" against the Church. It is of course abundantly possible that the discourse of a dissenter may be quite as good as the discourse of the most dignified ecclesiastic that adorns the hierarchy of the land; and even that a man may preach as well from a mound of turf as from a pulpit, or in a plain coat as in a gown and cassock. But we should think it a spurious liberality indeed, if any clergyman of the establishment was a voluntary agent in having his sermons mixed up in the same leaves with the sermons of an Independent or a Baptist; if he should forget, and so help to obliterate, the broad and obvious line of separation between a National Church, and a variety of sects, which, to his understanding at least, must be imbued with heresy and schism. Such a measure, if deliberate and wilful, we should regard as almost a step to preaching in the same place of worship, and we entertain a strong feeling as to the mischief which it might occasion. Preposterous, we are aware, would be the absurdity of attributing to a catch-penny speculation, like the "British Pulpit," any deep or premeditated design. Yet the plan of comprehending "*Evangelical* divines of *every* denomination," is of a piece with the general tactics and devices of the Dissenters, assisted, as they sometimes are, by conscientious persons attached to a particular section in the National Church, who ought to be more upon their guard. It is just of a piece with the system which would distribute Christian ministers, not into the old and plain, and intelligible distinctions of Episcopalians, who belong to the Establishment, and Sectarians, who secede from it, but into a new division, of *Evangelical* and *un-Evangelical* preachers; the former to be extolled and brought forward, and the latter to be proscribed: and thus—not to mention other sorer topics—by way of getting rid of the intolerance, and exclusiveness, and the assumption of the dominant Church, would introduce a *new* intolerance, a *new* exclusiveness, a *new* assumption, just on a par with that spirit, which advertises for "a maid of all work to a family of decided piety," and which would insinuate that none can be "serious" or devout, or really Christian, without the pale of the special sacred band, who use a peculiar phrasology on every suitable or unsuitable occasion. The notion, however, ought not to be lost of something superior, and independent, and separate in the Established Church; the associations of reverence, as well as affection, which are connected with it, ought not to be lightly broken. But if the religionists of the

day see all denominations of Christians and Christian ministers placed upon a perfect equality in a periodical work, they may soon become familiarized with the dissenting principle, that they are perfectly equal in themselves: they may slide into the habit of hurrying with an indifferent and most impartial eagerness, from Church to Conventicle, and from Conventicle to Church; just wherever there is "*a wonderful fine man*" to be heard; and all peculiar respect for the doctrines and discipline of the religion of the country, may be merged in an indiscriminate passion for florid and stimulating harangues. It is evident, at least, that, as far as the influence of these publications can extend, if the principle of an Established Church is not absolutely trodden under foot, the way is paved for the secret but triumphant progress of the principles of dissent.

In whatever light, then, the matter is viewed, whether as it affects preachers or as it affects hearers, whether as it affects those whose discourses are inserted against their inclinations, or those whose discourses are inserted with their proper knowledge and consent—whether as it affects successful, or, if such there be, unsuccessful candidates for the honour of a place—we can discern little more than another phase of mischief. Something, likewise, might be said generally about the intellectual and spiritual taste which is fostered by such publications as the *Pulpit* and the rest; and a few flowers might be gathered out of these gardens of eloquence, which such of our readers as are fond of the gaudy and fantastic might be anxious to preserve. We might smile at some of the men who are exalted to the pinnacle of popularity, and held up as the luminaries of the time. Divers samples might be selected of all that is puerile in logic, or that ought to be avoided in oratory,—of turgid rant or mawkish familiarity,—of the marvellously wild in doctrine, or the strangely infelicitous in expression,—of the sublime soaring away into the burlesque, or the pathetic sinking down into the ludicrous. Much unquestionably there is of a far better kind; but upon dipping into one of these compilations, or endeavouring to wade through another, we really cannot but come to the conclusion, that the exceptionable, on the whole, preponderates over the laudable, both in substance and in style. A considerable proportion is sad rubbish indeed.

This, however, is a matter on which we forbear to expatiate; for our object is rather to protest against the principle than to enter into details. Moreover, if we attempted the task of criticism, we should yet be ignorant whether we were passing our strictures upon the preacher, or upon the reporter.

This latter point one pregnant instance may sufficiently ex-

plain. We *had*, as it happens, prepared certain extracts—some of them atrocious transgressions against soundness of doctrine and purity of composition,—and, by accident, the very first was from a sermon in the *Preacher*, purporting to be delivered by the late Mr. Howels, and entitled “*Sacramental Preparation.*” But in looking into the Memoir of that clergyman, prefixed by his friend Mr. Bowdler to his Sermons lately published, we were much struck by the following passages. “Mr. Howels wrote with *painful emphasis* when complaining of the way in which his sermons were reported in some periodical publications.” He spoke of “sermons to be published afterwards, not for the *spiritual*, but the *temporal* profit of *others.*” He “*strongly objected to the practice of publishing his sermons, sometimes erroneously reported, and uniformly without his leave.*”—p. cxix. And the subjoined sentences then occur in a letter addressed by Mr. Howels himself to the editor of the *Pulpit*, and inserted in that work.

“Sir,—I have perused with surprise a sermon reported as mine, in No. 338 of your periodical publication. *Thousands of gold and silver* would not have seduced me into the press, and thence into the tour of the empire, in the dress I am invested with by your reporter.

“Though the *whole of the sermons* would have been very different had it courted the public eye from my own pen, I cannot, from bodily indisposition, do more than correct a few passages by presenting you with my own undisturbed sentiments.

* * * * *

“*I disown every thing hitherto inserted in The Pulpit under my name, and deprecate the future insertion of any thing ascribed to myself.*”

These sentences have determined us not to quote any passages whatever attributed to *other* names, while we are *uncertain* as to their authenticity; but after this strong *caveat* of Mr. Howels, we may feel convinced that the reports of *his* sermons are *not* authentic in one of these compilations more than in another; and therefore we insert the following jargon, which some coarse and ignorant reporter, or perhaps some secret enemy, has put into the mouth of a minister of the Church of England; not as being any thing which Mr. Howels really said, but as showing the sort of stuff which “*The Preacher*” can contain as “*eminent Divinity.*”

“We have more to achieve than Wellington ever had when he faced the enemies of his country in Europe.”

“Some individuals are so much under the influence of good sense, that they not only say and do what is right, but they time things admirably. They will not only say a good thing, but say it at the moment

it ought to be said, and we are very much pleased. *This is just the way with God.*"

"It is true there is hypocrisy and deceit in the bosom of the believer; but he knows these enemies, and is fighting against them. This is the difference—though hypocrisy and deceit are lurking in his heart, yet he is not a hypocrite, a self-deceiver. I remember hearing a very eminently pious man say, '*You smile so sweetly.*' '*Hold your tongue,*' said I, '*you do not know how to abuse me: if you knew what was in my heart, your expressions are too weak a great deal; you cannot paint me: if you want to see me in all my deformity, let me paint myself—I do not want such a dauber as you are to murder my picture.*' The man was astonished, and at the same time ashamed of himself.

"In the hundred and nineteenth Psalm we see what individuals who live nigh unto the Lord are engaged in. What sweet aspirations there are in that Psalm! We see David flying on the wings of faith and love, leaving earth and all its trumpery; he seems to soar in the neighbourhood of the sun: yet after all how does he conclude? '*Seek thy servant; I am gone astray like a sheep that is lost.*' He was a man, as I told you before, who had his eye fixed in his heart. His conduct must have been admired by all who knew him. He was eminently embued with the spirit of piety; yet he said, '*Seek thy servant.*' May God give us this religion, a religion *that will make us all radicals*—that is the religion we want—a religion that reaches the root of every principle—a religion that *sometimes does what one tooth does with another, in the mouth of a young person*; the tooth that grows pushes out the other. So divine grace grows out every evil principle, in the strength and love of God."

"If thus I wait upon God in the exercise of faith, he will give me every thing that is good for me. Yes, he will give me, to-morrow, or even to-day, the sun, moon, and stars, if they would do me real good. *God takes away many things from his family, as a mother does with her child who has found a knife and fork; they pass very near his eyes, his mouth, and his nose; and what does she do? She takes them away from his hands. Thus the Lord does with us; and we shall learn hereafter, as I have often told you before, that God is often acting wisely in taking away what we consider to be necessary.*"—"The Preacher, part IV., Sermon 2nd."

We might adduce other specimens of *Preacher* and *Pulpit* eloquence quite as extravagant, and even more offensive; for, in point of fact, no clergyman in the kingdom, from the archbishop to the deacon, from the primate of all England to the assistant curate, is safe, except through thorough incapacity, from being not merely turned into an author against his will, but misrepresented and caricatured into the bargain; unless, indeed, by condescending to correct the proofs, he mixes himself up with persons whom, to say the least, he cannot respect, and acquiesces in a system which defrauds him, and perhaps gives to the defrauding parties a lien upon his literary property which may be used against

himself, if he afterwards wishes to print his own sermons for his own benefit.

But, if such are the evils of the plan pursued by "the Pulpit" and "its tail," the question comes, "what are the remedies?" For our own parts, we should be glad to see the matter fairly tried in a court of law. But the issue might be doubtful. In the case of medical lecturers, it has, we believe, been determined, that the lecture, when once delivered, belongs to the persons for whose service it was composed, and by whom the lecturer is paid. And although the case of a clergyman is in many respects different, and his moral and equitable right to a property in his own discourses seems incontrovertibly clear, the decision in law might be unfavourable, and he would be unwise to enter into a squabble with most unworthy antagonists, and put himself to trouble and expense, without first obtaining a sound legal opinion, founded upon an exact statement of the particular circumstances. Still there are some means of prevention, even if there be no complete redress. Wherever a minister is systematically annoyed by the unauthentic publication of his sermons, we advise him to express, forcibly and emphatically, his disapprobation and disgust, not merely in a letter addressed to the editor of the offending work, but generally, through the medium of the newspapers and the periodical press. To some inconveniences he would, of course, be exposed, and, very possibly, to some malignity of attack; for where is the thief who will resign his booty without a murmur? But the honest exposure would do good, and if the example was set by one influential divine of high character and talent, others would be induced to follow, and the proprietors of these compilations might be deterred by very shame; or, at least, it would be seen who the parties are who dislike and reprobate the system, and who, if any, are the other parties who, behind the curtain, uphold and promote it. We trust, indeed, that there are no clergymen of the Established Church who can, in any way, pander to a scheme so mischievous and so nefarious.

Something again might be, and we hope has been, done by the cheap and authorized publication of judicious and orthodox, and at the same time stirring and attractive, sermons, contributed either to a society; or to a responsible editor, by ministers of the Gospel, who are willing, occasionally, to see their compositions in print, but who have yet no inclination to puff themselves in a title-page.

No plan, however, of this kind can be sufficient to stop the evil, although it may help to counteract it. If the system can be put down at all, it must be put down by a fearless, powerful, uncompromising exhibition of public sentiment. We cannot see

why much mercy is to be shown to persons who live by purloining the products of other men's toil, and trampling upon the laws of common honesty and common propriety. We have, therefore, taken up the cause of the clergy against these literary beasts of prey, these "unclean harpies," who disgrace a liberal and honourable profession. To some we may appear harsh; but, alas, we have no choice but harshness. Lenity would be worse than misplaced, for it would be an injury to religion and its ministers. We have no personal feeling or interest in the matter, but we know that soft words are unavailing. We know that entreaties and remonstrances have been repeatedly addressed to the proprietors of these publications in vain, that promises have been violated, and that the system has been carried on in defiance of the known wishes of some among the most celebrated and excellent men in the Church. For these reasons, and for no other, we have felt it right to make the experiment of a slight castigation, since milder measures have been tried without effect.

ART. III.—*Oaths, their Origin, Nature and History.* By James Endell Tyler, B.D.

IN these times, when the spirit of reform increases from indulgence, we should be unwilling to declare ourselves its opponents, and will even go so far as to acknowledge the utility of it, when real evils are to be corrected or real good introduced. But forming anew is not always forming for the better, or we should never have occasion to find fault with any of the changes that are proposed in our laws or the administration of them. Still there is sometimes good cause that we should raise our voice against the cry of this popular spirit. When the prejudices of party are the sole grounds for an advocated change; when institutions are complained of, though the intrinsic reasonableness and real value of them remains unaltered, merely because individuals have thrown themselves out of that atmosphere through which the beneficial influence of them extends; when laws are found fault with, which are as just and as practicably useful now as they were at first, only because those laws have been abused in a manner entirely contrary to their original intention; then in truth we would caution the legislature not to be too busy, not to be for ever attending to the voice of dissatisfaction; for if it so easily gain attention, it will never be silenced, but will daily find new matter for murmuring and discontent.

Like the painter who tried to please every body and satisfied nobody, a minister who endeavours to make a change in every thing which is complained of, will find he has undertaken a task not only of insurmountable difficulty and endless toil, but also of extreme danger; it is often far more prudent—

——— “ to bear the ills we have,
 Than fly to others that we know not of.”

We can congratulate the ministers that they have found a point to which the spirit of reform can advantageously direct its energies. Of all existing abuses, not one is more apparent or more acknowledged than the abuse of oaths. Half-a-century ago Paley observed, with great reason, “ That the obscure and elliptical form of the oath, as administered in this country, together with the levity and frequency with which it is administered, has brought about a general inadvertency to the obligation of oaths, which, both in a religious and political view, is much to be lamented; and it merits public consideration, whether the requiring of oaths, on so many frivolous occasions, has any other effect than to make them cheap in the minds of the people.” Yet in spite of this observation of one of the most popular moralists of the day, and in spite of the assent of every thinking man to the truth of it, in spite of the grave, the awful importance of the subject, the legislature seems to have taken almost every opportunity to increase the evil, and the acts of every session of parliament have multiplied the occasions on which oaths are required to be taken.

The evil, which, we conceive, results from this multiplicity of oaths, is so great and extensive, that we know not where it ends. It destroys that good faith, which oaths were intended to confirm; and it strikes at the very root of religion itself by diminishing our veneration for the Deity. It is not to the elliptical form of our oaths, found fault with by Paley; it is not to the imprecatory clause, which has offended Mr. Tyler and others of nice conscience, but it is to the multiplicity of oaths we object, in whatever form these oaths are administered. In our idea, the evil exists under every form, for “ the signification of the oath is still the same,” says Paley, “ whatever be the form. It is the calling God to witness, i. e. to take notice of what we say, and invoking his vengeance or renouncing his favour if what we say be false, or what we promise be not performed.” This is the true explanation of what an oath signifies, and is, in our opinion, preferable to that either of Dr. Johnson or Mr. Tyler. According to Dr. Johnson, “ An oath is an affirmation, negation or promise, corroborated by the attestation of the Divine Being.” According to Mr. Tyler, “ An outward pledge given by the juror that his attes-

tation or promise is made under an immediate sense of his responsibilities to God:" The Moravian's declaration is an oath under each of these definitions, " I declare in the presence of Almighty God the witness of what I say," &c.

Even in this guarded declaration the imprecatory form is implied, for if the oath is corroborated and confirmed by the attestation of Almighty God, it is because He is the God of Truth—the enemy of falsehood. It is because God knows whether we speak truly or falsely, and will punish us if we are guilty of falsehood, it is *therefore* the attestation of God corroborates our testimony. Were God indifferent as to our truth or falsehood, the attestation of God would *not* corroborate our words.

The taking of an oath, then, either expressing or implying an imprecation of God as the avenger of falsehood, is an act of the most solemn and awful nature. The taking it seriously, considerately and truly is an act of religion; the taking it lightly, unadvisedly, unnecessarily or falsely, nothing short of blasphemy. Even common swearing, wicked and disgusting as it is, cannot be so criminal as this prostitution of an oath. While the commandment is before us, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain," what crime can we believe more directly forbidden than the unnecessary taking of an oath in any form? We are now every day assailed by the complaints of the nice and tender consciences of our friends, who are for ever bitterly offended with words and scandalized at forms; we profess ourselves of even tenderer conscience than they, for we shall not be satisfied with changing the form or words, if the spirit, intent and meaning remain the same. No alteration in form or words can at all change the sacredness of an oath, and though, if the imprecatory clause were omitted, as in the oath of the Moravians, the frequency of oaths might be less offensive to some, it would, after all, be but a pious cheat, and would give cause for letting the evil continue unreformed, by clothing its unaltered deformity in a more specious garb. This we cannot but think is the real state of the case, and we trust that the subject, already noticed this session in the House of Lords, will not be permitted to rest until all unnecessary oaths are done away with, and a form of declaration substituted for them. We humbly suggest that declarations, such as we are about to recommend, might answer every purpose of oaths administered in most civil cases. The preamble might be exactly the same as that of the oaths now used, a simple declaration of the truth of it being added instead of the imprecatory clause; and the ceremony of touching and kissing the Testament being of course omitted. In every case where the falsity of an oath is not now punishable as perjury, and these cases are very many, the

declaration might safely be adopted; and probably might be used without any possibility of evil, instead of the oath of office, where that office is unconnected with the administration of criminal justice. This declaration should be made and signed before a proper officer, and the falsehood of this declaration or the non-fulfilment of the promissory part, should be made a crime punishable by law in a more direct and summary manner than that of indictment. Paley's advice concords with this suggestion; that advice indeed should be attended to as the practical explanation of the basis of the proposed amendment. "Let the law continue its own sanctions, if they be thought requisite, but let it spare the solemnity of an oath; and where it is necessary, from want of something better to depend upon, to accept men's own words or own account, let it annex to prevarication penalties proportioned to the public consequence of the offence." This would be some check to falsehood in those, who alone would be guilty of it, the immoral and the hardened. It might perhaps be thought advisable that declarations should be of two classes, each class to be subject to a different degree of penalty. The more solemn class of declaration might be intermediate between the less solemn and the oath. The declarer might assert that he believed that falsehood was a crime hated by God as well as man, and that under that belief he made his declaration and asserted its truth. This latter more solemn declaration might be adopted in some cases of evidence or some of those in which a juror would now by falsehood incur the penalty of perjury, and the penalty incurred by falsehood in this class should be heavier than that in the first case. The more simple declaration might be substituted for all oaths of minor office, all oaths under the poor laws, all oaths required of vagrants and all voluntary affidavits, besides many others which are now taken in cases of no very serious nature. For example, of the use of each class of declaration—the more simple form should be used in the examination of a pauper as to his settlement; but if that pauper was accused of having declared falsely, the evidence against him should be taken in the more solemn form of declaration.

We fear we have already indulged too far in our own lucubrations; these opinions we long since adopted, and they have received strong confirmation from the book before us, to the consideration of which we now proceed. Mr. Tyler shall explain what he intends to illustrate.

"The practical questions on which I have endeavoured, in the following treatise, to throw some light, are chiefly these three:—

"First.—Are oaths in themselves lawful to a Christian? or are they altogether prohibited by the Gospel?

“Secondly.—If oaths are, in themselves, lawful to a Christian, are they, as at present administered and taken in England, calculated to promote truth and justice? and are they agreeable to the spirit of the religion we profess?”

“Thirdly.—If any alteration in our system of oaths should appear desirable, on what principles and by what means may such changes be most safely and satisfactorily effected?”

After a few more words of introduction, he goes on to state the general use of oaths in all ages and in all countries, and traces the origin of this use to the absence of good faith among mankind, and their consequent distrust of each other. He then proceeds to the definition of an oath, which we have above referred to. In answer to the question, are oaths lawful? many well-known arguments are brought forward, drawn from the ordinance of them under the Mosaic covenant and the regulations respecting them therein. Then follows the common interpretation of the prohibitory command in *Matth. v. 34*, and *James, v. 12*, and the quotation of our Lord's assent to the adjuration of Caiaphas; from this and Calvin's commentary thereupon, Mr. Tyler concludes that—

“Oaths are not in themselves unlawful to a Christian. From the records of the Old Testament, from the words and from the example of Christ and his Apostles, from the testimony of the Christian Church, we conclude undoubtingly that consistently with the letter and the spirit of the Gospel an oath may be taken ‘when a cause of faith and charity requireth it, so it be done according to the prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment and truth. Does it therefore follow that the system of oaths as enjoined or permitted and practised in England, is agreeable to the word and will of God?’”

This question is answered in the fifth chapter. And the author proves that he has not been idle in his researches on the subject, the opinions of several of the fathers and other ancient writers are collected to confirm his own assertion, that “the utmost limit to which Scripture authority can, with any thing like fairness, be interpreted to extend, is the bare permission of oaths when NECESSARY for the ends of justice and maintenance of truth;” and he concludes by noticing, as one of the many objectionable instances of unnecessary oaths, that required to be taken every year by the primate of all England as President of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. That this oath might be discontinued, we allow; but we cannot agree with Mr. Tyler in thinking, that it is one of that objectionable description which should be among the first to call for the interference of the legislature to abolish it. It is administered to one who takes it with due solemnity; it is to him, the dedicated priest of God, an

additional vow to work in God's service; the immediate object of it is the furtherance of Christianity; there is no hazard that it will be taken with irreverence, or that its obligation will be neglected or forgotten. Unnecessary it may be, on account of the good faith of the most reverend person who takes it; but objectionable it is not, either in the manner in which it is administered, or the matter in which it is required.

The practical tendency of the multiplication of oaths is well stated to be—"first, to diminish the reverence of an oath; secondly, proportionably to undervalue the simple truth; and, thirdly, to produce an evil, which seems to be a natural consequence of the other two—a recourse to the sanction of an oath in common conversation—an appeal to Heaven in trifles and in every-day intercourse." With regard to the second and third evil consequences of the multiplicity of oaths, we must quote Mr. Tyler's own words at length, in a passage written as forcibly as any in the book.

"The second mischief we mentioned, arising from our present unhappy practice in the administration of oaths, was a proportionate undervaluing of the truth, when a bare affirmation is made without the additional sanction of such an immediate appeal to Heaven. This undervaluing of a simple declaration is seen in a twofold point of view—in the person whose words purport to convey the truth, and in the person to whom they are addressed—a sort of general disparagement of that 'yea' and 'nay' of Christians, beyond which the great Legislator and Judge, from whom lieth no appeal, has pronounced every thing to originate in a poisoned well-spring. If the legislature of England, by its solemn enactments, pronounces and declares that no credit is to be given to a man's word, however seriously pledged, unless it be confirmed by an oath, though the most trivial question of every-day life be the subject; if justice, even when engaged in settling a point of less value than can be estimated by the lowest coin that is named amongst us, will not move her hand or tongue without first witnessing an appeal to Heaven, what is the natural result? Can it be any other (especially amongst the least educated part of mankind) than, on the one hand, a comparative carelessness, a heedlessness of his own words, when a man speaks unrestrained, uninfluenced by the religious bond of an oath; and on the other hand, a proportionate distrust of another man's bare, naked word—an incredulity when he merely affirms or denies under the general obligation to speak the truth. Thus does the multiplication of oaths throw simple truth into the back-ground, and pave the way for the third evil we specified—the prevalence of rash and common swearing."—p. 38.

The seventh chapter asks—"Does the present system work well?"—by which is meant, does the present system answer the purpose for which it was intended?—"does it provide judges and magistrates with the real facts of the case which they are called upon to adjudicate? The evil propensities of our na-

ture are shown in the miserable expedients to which men have recourse to evade the guilt of perjury, and secure their own ends by falsehood." Here follow instances of superstitious fraud, which certainly may have occurred, but which do not seem to have much bearing on the question. We are gravely told "some kiss their thumb instead of the book;" but it must be very unusual ignorance indeed which believes that the kissing of the book is the most material part of an oath; "others kiss the book and say nothing." These instances are irrelevant to the subject, because they can refer only to a few uninformed and stupid persons, who can have so very little knowledge of right and wrong, so little understanding of the meaning of an oath, that whether only a simple declaration was required, or an oath most solemnly administered, their truth could never be relied upon. But Mr. Tyler thinks these subterfuges derive countenance from the practical legal interpretation of the laws relating to perjury. Ambiguous as this interpretation may be, we cannot see why he should think this; for an indictment for perjury would rest, not upon whether the juror himself knew that he had taken the oath in proper form, but whether that oath had been properly administered to him; and an assertion on his part that he kissed his thumb instead of the book, or that he himself said nothing, though by the usual action he assented to the oath administered; such an assertion, we imagine, would serve him but little as a defence. We shall remark hereafter on the ambiguity of the law relative to perjury. But "the dreadful extent to which perjury, direct palpable perjury prevails, from one end of the kingdom to another," calls forth Mr. Tyler's just horror and indignation. That the extent of perjury is truly deplorable, we allow; but we were hardly prepared for the extent of our author's credulity, when he avows "that the judges tell us—every obligation of an oath on the conscience is forgotten! Indeed one gentleman high in the profession assured me, as the result of his own experience, that not *one half* of those who came before him to swear affidavits seemed to feel that they were under the slightest religious obligation to speak the truth"! This is too much, however high may be the respectability of the legal gentleman: his experience must have been most unfortunate, or this is a very exaggerated statement. Perjury is prevalent, but that one half, or one fourth, of those who take oaths would perjure themselves, we must at once deny. But we can no longer wonder at the ready insertion of the lawyer's hyperbolical expression, when we read the contemptible story which follows, and with which some mischievous tattler must have practised upon the reverend gentleman's simple credulity. We cannot insult our readers by the repetition of this tale of Billingsgate blasphemy, though it is

related with most grave and innocent seriousness by Mr. Tyler, who seems to be quite unconscious that any one can doubt its truth.

After the contents of the last chapter, the reader will have no difficulty in answering at once in the affirmative the question of that which follows:—"Are any changes necessary?" The first change proposed is the omission of the imprecatory clause; but here we take leave to prefer the judgment of the author's friend to his own.

"His remarks seem to me to unite sound judgment with equally sound liberality. I think it may be very safely said, the distinction of the Moravians is too finely drawn. What meaning can be attributed to the act of calling God to witness any declaration short of virtually calling upon his omniscience to discover, and upon his might to avenge, any falsehood in that declaration? The Moravians cannot mean to call upon the Deity to give sensible tokens of attestation. Still I object not to your recommendation to omit that part of the oath which is directly imprecatory, turning entirely, in the English oath, upon the word 'so'—an objectionable, almost an insidious form of inducing an illiterate man to invoke the vengeance of the Almighty. I hold it no sufficient reason to retain the words 'So help me God,' that there will still be a virtual imprecation without them. If actual imprecation shocks the conscience even of the weaker brethren, and adds little or nothing to the sense of obligation, it is a reason for recommending an altered form."—p. 62.

The alterations, which are called for by every considerate person, are thus shortly explained by Mr. Tyler.

"I shall take it for granted that every one who professes to regard the Gospel as the rule of life, will feel, first, that all unnecessary oaths should be abolished, in whatever department of church or state they may be found; and, secondly, that whatever oaths, after a calm and dispassionate examination of the subject in all its bearings, may still be deemed indispensable, they should always be administered with such marks of reverence and solemnity as at once are due to the hallowed name of Him who is invoked, and may be calculated to inspire a religious feeling of respect and a reverential awe, as well in the person sworn as in all who witness the ceremony."—p. 63.

The first class of these oaths which are unnecessary, is that of oaths of office, except those of extraordinary trust in church or state. We have already stated our own coincidence with this opinion, for we think oaths never so seriously and solemnly, and therefore fitly taken, as in matters appertaining to religion. There can be no irreverence in the ministers of God calling on Him to witness any act of dedication to His service. Oaths of this kind are very analogous to those vows of old by which persons devoted themselves to the Lord; oaths of this kind are a part of religion itself, and should be abolished on no consideration. With re-

spect to offices in the state, the distinction between those simply of a civil nature, and those connected with the administration of criminal justice, might, we think, agreeably to the author's suggestion, decide the instances of those where a declaration would be sufficient, or those where an oath was still requisite. Next to these oaths of office are mentioned voluntary affidavits: great is the mass of these which are now every day administered, and every day irreverently taken. If the proposed alteration in the poor laws takes place, it will destroy at one swoop a myriad of them. The part of these laws relating to bastardy are the cause of as much perjury, especially in the agricultural districts, as any or all the rest of the law requiring or permitting oaths. But we rejoice that here the annihilation of a vast collection of matter for perjury and falsehood is contemplated, and a multitude of oaths done away with, without the substitution of any declaration in the place of them: and this is far the most advisable mode of proceeding, where it can be adopted without any great inconvenience; for as oaths often draw men into the heinous sin of perjury, so declarations must in equal proportion be followed often by falsehood. When neither oath or declaration is required, perjury is impossible, and falsehood must remain inactive and innocent.

In many instances of voluntary affidavits, Mr. Tyler thinks the administering of an oath is even now contrary to law, for Sir E. Coke says expressly—"Oaths that have no warrant by law are rather nova tormenta than sacramenta, and it is an high contempt to minister an oath without warrant of law, to be punished by fine and imprisonment." We think there is very little reason to believe that the number of voluntary affidavits illegally administered is worth noticing; for not only have late acts of parliament legalized many oaths for which in Sir E. Coke's time there was no warrant, but magistrates and masters in chancery are very careful to adhere strictly to law. Some years since we know it was the custom with magistrates in the country to permit affidavits to be taken by any who wished to prove the truth of their words, or to clear their character from unjust imputations. Every idle assertion or ridiculous tale of scandal was subject for an affidavit, and we have known instances where the parties have gone to different magistrates and made oath of statements diametrically opposite to each other. We have heard, too, cases where masters in chancery are reported to have been equally careless and equally liberal in swearing persons, without a pretence of the law requiring it. But did either magistrates or masters act in this manner now, it would not escape the notice of those who are for ever ready to inform against persons in authority, whenever opportu-

nity occurs of proving that they have transgressed. Whether legally administered or not, however, voluntary oaths even now are too often admitted when not necessary. There is no case of this sort which immediately comes to our recollection as more productive of perjury, than that of a person surcharged by the assessor of taxes being allowed to clear himself of the surcharge by an oath. The temptation to falsehood in this instance is twofold; first, the person by his own oath confirms the truth of his own previous statement, which is called in question by the surcharge; secondly, he is exonerated from the payment of the amount surcharged. Oaths, where temptation of this sort exists, are snares baited too alluringly to be escaped by any but those of a strong conscience or wakeful caution. We regret that in candour we must own that the number of confirmed surcharges which takes place every year, and almost every where, militates against the idea that those who despise the obligation of their word, would, in general, be equally neglectful of the obligation of an oath; for here we see that men who without scruple sign a falsehood, do scruple to swear to it. But while we allow this, which is an argument for the retaining oaths, as the only means of eliciting the truth, we think, if falsehood were itself made a crime punishable by law in a summary manner, all these would be deterred from signing, besides many more whose conscience is less nice, and who are at present tempted to commit the more heinous sin of perjury.

The tenth chapter contains some very just remarks on the oaths required at the universities. Most of those which regard academical discipline might be done away with; the matriculation oath has almost come to seem a tissue of ridiculous absurdities. Instead of calling on the undergraduate to swear that he will observe the Statutes of the University, many of which are obsolete, and the observance of some of them impossible, it would be much more wise to give him warning publicly of the penalty or punishment which would be incurred by disobeying them. This warning would be likely to induce him to be obedient, and would prevent any cause of complaint in case that penalty or punishment was inflicted on his disobedience.

“ But if the universities offend in these particulars by their tens, the courts of law offend by their tens of thousands. The blessed Founder of Christianity said, ‘ Swear not at all; the Apostle James re-echoed his Saviour’s words; the earliest Christians interpreted this command as prohibitory at least of every oath not absolutely necessary for the preservation of justice and peace; and yet in England, if ever the voice of our Christian legislature is heard bearing on these points, its words seem to sound, ‘ Swear on all occasions: omit no opportunity of insisting on

an oath.' Indeed our country has been, not without reason, called 'a land of oaths.'"—p. 76.

Enough has already been said upon this subject to show that an inquiry is called for; it is with the greatest satisfaction we find that inquiry has already commenced. We trust it will be rendered effective by the counsel of that Right Reverend individual, to whom Mr. Tyler has, with great propriety, dedicated this volume. We have already learned the value of that counsel towards the amendment of our law. It is to the spirit of real reform, tempered by cool judgment, and aided by Christian wisdom, that we can trust with confidence in these innovating times, to eradicate existing abuses, without endangering the beneficial parts of that system, to which they belong. No better general rule for effecting the object desired can be given than in almost every case to say "increase bonds and penalties and diminish oaths." The manner of administering oaths (with which the author again finds fault) must at present, in consequence of their frequency, be improper; "familiarity breeds contempt," and as long as the multiplicity of oaths exists, the want of respect to them must remain; diminish the number, and then, and not until then, can they be administered in a becoming manner or with due solemnity. Certainly those oaths which are retained would gain some reverence, from their being required only on most serious occasions; but we quite agree that the manner of administering them should be more solemn; the administrator should be a person of high character and office; indeed, nothing should be omitted to render the ceremony grave and impressive.

The first part is concluded by a statement of these objects, which are worthy of the consideration of the legislature.

"1st. An approximation towards such a state of a Christian community with regard to oaths as would be worthy of the gospel, to be attempted by the abolition of all unnecessary oaths.

2ndly. That in the administration of oaths, either the judge himself, or some high officer, should perform the duty in a most reverend, grave, and impressive manner.

"3rdly. In cases where the party to be sworn may desire it, a change of form from the imprecatory to the attesting form."

To the first two objects we cordially assent; for the last, we have already stated we see no necessity; but if a change is necessary, "that we offend not those who are weak," we think the change should be in all oaths, and if the alteration of the words, "So help me God," to "I call God to witness the truth of what I shall say," be thought desirable, we cannot see that it at all diminishes the awful solemnity; for the God of Truth is in either case equally invoked, and if falsely or irreverently invoked, it is

equally certain "that God will not hold him guiltless who taketh his name in vain." We shall pass over without much observation the very learned history of the forms of oaths in different countries, as well as the very curious matter contained in the lettered sections of Part III. We do not think these parts of the volume bear much upon the main question, though in all probability they gave the author more trouble and put him to more research than all the rest; to some readers they may be very interesting; but that to which we wish to direct attention is the practical part. We shall therefore only notice the chapter which treats of perjury.

"No one can have paid attention to the subject of oaths, without being driven at a very early stage of his inquiry to draw a broad line of distinction between the moral guilt of false swearing and the civil crime of perjury. It is a distinction which the laws and the practice of many people would force him to make; but which seems in no country to have involved more inconsistent consequences, and to have led to greater practical evil than in our own."—p. 194.

The inadequacy of our law for the punishment of falsehood, the ambiguity of its construction, and the consequent uncertainty of conviction under it, these and many other evils of like nature, all arise from the frequency of oaths. Mr. Tyler confirms this by his interpretation of, and commentary on, a passage from Blackstone. "The law takes no notice of any perjury, but such as is committed in some courts of justice having power to administer an oath, or before some magistrate or proper officer invested with similar authority in some proceedings relative to a civil suit or criminal prosecution, for it esteems all other oaths unnecessary at least, and therefore will not punish the breach of them." Some very sensible observations occur in a former part of the volume, and are the remarks of a friend of the author; they are quoted in a note on p. 51.

"With regard to the defects and inconsistencies imputed to the law of England, in that it does not punish as perjury falseswearing, when the juror swears only to his recollection or belief, or where the matter sworn to is irrelevant to the point in issue, nor the breach of promissory oaths, it is to be observed, that no system of human laws extends nor indeed can extend to all breaches of moral duty. They punish as civil offences such only as are more tangible by law, and more peculiarly detrimental to the public weal, and then draw the line."

This is a very just explanation of the existing law, and acquaints us moreover with the difficulty of amending it, and we acknowledge that in the detection of falsehood, there must always be much caution observed: for the obligation which did not keep one party to the truth, may be equally inadequate to restrain the other; it is for this reason, that, if possible, the evidence in all prosecutions for falsehood should be confirmed by more solemn

obligations than that by which the accused was bound, or in case this is impossible (as where the charge is for falseswearing) that, as now, many witnesses should be necessary to disprove the oath of one and the veracity of these confirmed by attested circumstances. We have no doubt that the great unwillingness of the legislature to dispense with oaths, has in a great measure arisen from this acknowledged difficulty in proving, and therefore in punishing, falsehood. As the law at present exists, the fear of a prosecution for perjury certainly does not go far to prevent falsehood in those whose conscience is so hardened as to despise the obligation of an oath.

We cannot conclude our remarks without owning that we think the part of Mr. Tyler's book which is practically useful, might be condensed into a small pamphlet, and we are inclined to wish that an abridgment might be published, containing the first part, with very little of the second, and none of the third; in fact that that portion which would be easily read and attended to with utility, might be disencumbered from that weight of learning with which it is now mixed up. Without the curious matter in the third part, and the erudite disquisition and history in the second part, we are aware the volume will lose its present imposing appearance; but as there are in it many valuable hints, and much just reasoning, we are anxious that these should be read by more than will be inquisitive enough to search into, or literate enough to enjoy, the large and multifarious treasure of the author's unwearied research. We have but one more complaint to make, it is, that Mr. Tyler has snatched at all the intelligence which he could obtain, and has given equal credit to every friend who offered him an anecdote or an illustration. There is a very chaos of eleemosynary information. The opinion of a judge and the tale of a trifle are to be found in the same page.

On the judgment of one friend he could hardly place too much reliance, and he seems so grateful for the valuable remarks which he obtained from him, that we think he will readily pardon us for pronouncing those remarks, wherever they occur, to be as forcible and just and as full of sense and truth as any passage in the volume; that friend must be a learned, a wise, and a good man. But whatever fault we may find, it is more than outweighed by the praise which is due to the good feeling with which the whole is written, and the good intention with which it is published.

All into whose hands this book may fall will agree, that it does credit to the pen of a Christian minister, and is not unworthy of the patron to whom it is inscribed.

ART. IV.—*The Poetical Works of the Reverend George Crabbe.*
London : Murray. 1834.

THE history of Crabbe is one of uncommon interest, and it is narrated by his son and biographer with great simplicity and affectionate earnestness. We follow him through all the changes of his fortune, from the day of his unhappy apprenticeship at Wickham Brook, until his arrival, a desperate adventurer, in London, without friends, without money, and without employment. What he endured during that period of bitter trial may be seen in the extracts from his private journal contained in the present memoir. They are irresistibly affecting, from their sincerity and impressive truth. But our object in this article is to confine ourselves to the poetry of Crabbe, and we shall therefore only touch upon such portions of his life as may be thought to have influenced his genius.

Crabbe was born at Aldborough, in Suffolk, where his father was collector of the salt duties. A description of this place will be interesting to the admirers of the poet, from the remembrance of the graphic sketches which it furnished to his vigorous pencil.

Aldborough (or as it is more correctly written Aldeburgh) was in those days a poor and wretched place,* with nothing of the elegance and gaiety which have since sprung up about it in consequence of the resort of watering parties. The town lies between a low hill or cliff, on which only the old church and a few better houses were then situated, and the beach of the German Ocean. It consisted of two parallel and unpaved streets, running between mean and scrambling houses, the abodes of seafaring men, pilots, and fishers. The range of houses nearest to the sea had suffered so much from repeated invasions of the waves that only a few scattered tenements appeared erect among the desolation.

Crabbe often mentioned a tremendous spring-tide, which happened about the 1st of January, 1779, when eleven houses were at once demolished, and he saw the breakers dash over the roofs, and round the walls, and crush all to ruin. The beach consists of successive ridges—large rolled stones, then loose shingle, and, at the fall of the tide, a stripe of fine hard sand. Vessels of all sorts, from the large heavy troll-boat to the yawl and frame, drawn up along the shore—fishermen preparing their tackle or sorting their spoil, and nearer, the gloomy old town hall (the only indication of municipal dignity), a few groups of mariners, chiefly pilots, taking their short quick walk backwards and forwards,

* We borrow from the memoir of Crabbe.

every one watchful of a signal from the offing—such was the squalid scene that first opened on the author of “*The Village*.”

Nor was the landscape in the vicinity of a more engaging aspect—open commons and sterile farms, the soil poor and sandy, the herbage bare and rushy, the trees few and far between, and withered and stunted by the bleak breezes of the sea. The opening picture of “*The Village*” was copied in every touch from the scene of the poet’s nativity and boyish days :

“Lo ! where the heath, with withering brake grown o’er,
Lends the light turf that warms the neighbouring poor ;
From thence a length of burning sand appears,
Where the thin harvest waves its wither’d ears ;
Rank weeds, that every art and care defy,
Reign o’er the land and rob the blighted rye,
There thistles spread their prickly arms afar,
And to the ragged infants threaten war.”

Here he grew up among the rough sons of the ocean—a daily witness of unbridled passions and of manners remote from the sameness and artificial smoothness of polished society. At home he was subject to the caprices of a stern and imperious though not unkindly nature ; and probably few whom he could familiarly approach, but had passed through some of those dark domestic tragedies in which his future strength was to be exhibited. The common people of Aldborough in those days are described as

“A wild amphibious race,
With sullen woe displayed in every face ;
Who far from civil arts and social fly,
And scowl at strangers with suspicious eye.”

Nor although the family in which he was born happened to be somewhat above the mass in point of situation, was the remove so great as to be marked with any considerable difference in point of refinement. Masculine and robust frames, rude manners, stormy passions, laborious days, and occasionally boisterous nights of merriment—among such accompaniments was born and reared the Poet of the Poor.

But we have already seen, that the poet’s father was a person of intellect superior to his associates, and it was his frequent custom to read to his family in the evenings passages from Milton, Young, or some other religious poet, which he did with powerful effect. He happened also to take in a periodical work called “*Martin’s Philosophical Magazine*,” which contained at the end of each number a sheet of miscellaneous poetry, which the salt master always cut out when the magazines of the year were sent to the binders. These treasures therefore fell to the lot of young Crabbe, who studied them until he had committed the greater

part to memory. These verses would certainly never have cradled him into song, such as Mr. Murray would have thought worth publishing, or we should have taken the trouble to review. His inspiration was to come from a different source.

After leaving the school of Mr. Richard Haddon, at Stow Market, the young poet seems to have devoted his time for "many an idle year" to the enjoyment of solitary wanderings along the sea-shore. He has painted these amusements with great spirit in one of his poems.

"I to the ocean gave
My mind, and thoughts as restless as the wave ;
Where crowds assembled I was sure to run,
Hear what was said and muse on what was done.
To me the wives of seamen loved to tell
What storms endangered men esteemed so well ;
No ships were wreck'd upon that fatal beach
But I could give the luckless tale of each.—
I loved to walk where none had walked before
About the rocks that ran alone the shore ;
Or far beyond the sight of men to stray,
And take my pleasure when I lost my way ;
For then 'twas mine to trace the hilly heath,
And all the mossy moor that lies beneath.
Here I had favourite stations, where I stood
And heard the murmurs of the ocean flood,
With not a sound beside, except when flew
Aloft the lapwing or the grey curlew,—
When I no more my fancy could employ,
I left in haste what I could not enjoy,
And was my gentle mother's welcome boy."

"The Borough," although Crabbe, in his preface to that poem, discountenanced the belief, is known to have been a free picture of Aldborough, preserving all the striking features of the place and its inhabitants, heightened of course to increase the pictorial effect and to conceal the directness of the imitation. This will be seen from a reference to the eleventh letter, entitled *Inns*, and if any of our readers have ever visited the *White Lion*,

"High in the street o'erlooking half the place,"

they will perhaps remember an old fashioned parlour, which the "lordly host" of the present day

"With pomp obsequious bending in his pride,"

points out, with consciousness of the honour reflected upon his house, as the scene of many gay evening meetings, in which "young Dr. Crabbe" was by no means the least distinguished for hilarity. In this work some of his happiest efforts are to be found ; he had the original before him, and the life and broad-

ness of his own copies no one will call in question. 'The scenery was exactly of that description which he delighted to pourtray, and we may add the only kind from which he appears to have derived any gratification. For, as his son has confessed, though in aftertimes he resided in some of the finest parts of the island, he never seems to have taken any pleasure in the grander features of inland scenery.

Crabbe seems to have been only susceptible of poetical impressions from particular objects, and which to others have always proved the least interesting. For nature he had little affection, and the occasional touches of rural beauty, scattered, at long intervals, through his poems, are apparently to be attributed to accident rather than design. For although extremely partial to natural history, and pursuing his researches in that study during his residence in Suffolk, we are informed by his son, that those branches usually considered the least inviting had the highest attractions for him. In botany, grasses the most useful, but the least ornamental, were his favourites; in minerals, the earths and sands; in entomology, the minuter insects. His devotion to these pursuits, observes his biographer, appeared to proceed purely from the love of science and the increase of knowledge—at all events he never seemed to be captivated with the mere beauty of natural objects, or even to catch any taste from the arrangement of his own specimens.

Of the style in which he shone so eminently, the following is one of the most remarkable specimens. It is the picture of an old warehouse in the Borough, which was let out in lodgings to beggars of every description.

“That window view ! oil'd paper and old glass
Stain the strong rays which tho' impeded pass,
And give a dusty warmth to that huge room,
The conquer'd sunshine's melancholy gloom ;
When all those western rays without so bright,
Within become a ghastly glimmering light,
As pale and faint upon the floor they fall
Or feebly gleam on the opposing wall :
That floor once oak, now pieced with fir unplanned,
Or where not pieced, in places bored and stained ;
That wall once whiten'd, now an odious sight,
Stain'd with all hues except its ancient white ;
The only door is fastened by a pin,
Or stubborn bar, that none may hurry in :
For this poor room, like rooms of greater pride,
At times contained what prudent men would hide.
Where'er the floor allows an even space,
Chalking and marks of various games have place ;

Boys, without foresight, pleased, in halters swing ;
 On a fixed hook men cast a flying ring :
 While gin and snuff their female neighbours share,
 And the black beverage in the fractured ware.
 On swinging shelf are things incongruous stored ;
 Scraps of thin food—the cards and cribbage board,
 With pipes and pouches ; while on peg below,
 Hung a lost member's fiddle and its bow,
 That still reminds them how he'd dance and play,
 Ere sent untimely to the convict's bay.
 Here by a curtain, by a blanket there,
 Are various beds conceal'd, but none with care ;
 Where some by day, and some by night, as best
 Suit their employments, seek uncertain rest ;
 The drowsy children at their pleasure creep,
 To the known crib and there securely sleep.
 Each end contains a grate, and these beside
 Are hung utensils for their boil'd and fried,
 All used at any hour, by night, by day,
 As suit the purse, the person, or the prey.
 Above the fire the mantel-shelf contains
 Of china-ware some poor unmatch'd remains ;
 There many a tea-cup's gaudy fragment stands,
 All placed by vanity's unwearied hands ;
 For here she lives, e'en here she looks about
 To find some small consoling objects out :
 Nor heed those Spartan dames their house, nor sit
 'Mid cares domestic,—they nor sew, nor knit ;
 But of their fate discourse, their ways, their wars
 With arm'd authorities, their scapes and scars :
 These lead to present evils, and a cup,
 If fortune grant it, winds description up.
 High up at either end, and next the wall,
 Two ancient mirrors show the forms of all,
 In all their force ;—these aid them in their dress,
 But with the good, the evils too express,
 Doubling each look of care, each token of distress."

As a specimen of Dutch painting this must be acknowledged to be admirable ; to what poetical rank it is entitled is a question of more difficulty. It may be affirmed that all poetry, in a greater or less degree, depends upon the associations connected with it. The white cottage of a villager with the flaunting woodbine, and the blackbird piping under the thatch, and a group of rosy children sitting on the warm grass and throwing daisies at each other, form a very pleasing picture ; but in the gloomy and sickening abode of dissolute vagabonds there is not only nothing to gratify the mind, but every thing to disgust it. This objection, in reference to Crabbe's poetry in general, has been strongly

urged by Mr. Gifford. "If," he says, "the checks of fancy and taste be removed from poetry, and admission be granted to images of whatever description, provided they have the passport of reality, it is not easy to tell at what point the line of exclusion should be drawn, or why it should be drawn at all. No image of depravity, so long as it answers to some archetype in nature or art, can be refused the benefit of the general rule." If this principle be admitted, there is no haunt of iniquity, from Temple Bar to Hyde Park Corner, which may not have its impurities "hitched into a rhyme," until at length we should have a complete portrait gallery of monsters—an exhibition sacred to vice. The author of the *Borough* had certainly no intention to proceed to such an extent, but we are speaking of the theory not as it is in the hands of the founder, but as it may become in the hands of a more hardy disciple.

A comparison has been sometimes instituted between Wordsworth and Crabbe; they are indeed in one sense both poets of the poor, for the prints of their footsteps are commonly to be traced in the sequestered paths of humble life. But the peasantry of Wordsworth are not the peasantry of Crabbe; they are men—poor though they be in worldly treasure—into whose spirits the music of nature has penetrated; men, who, from their childhood, have been familiar with the charms of the creation; to whose feet every woody defile, every pastoral glen, every sun-chequered path is familiar; whose eyes have ever been open to the sweet influences of the varying seasons—whether the solemnity of autumn, or the horror of winter, or the allurements of spring, or the ripe maturity of summer, when a hundred streams

"unto the sleeping woods all night"

warble their "quiet tunes." Thus the very atmosphere of life becomes to them purified, and nature is the nurse who leads them up to God.

What a different aspect do the peasantry of Crabbe present? The squalidness of their dwellings appears to have imparted a kindred degradation to their feelings. We discover nothing noble, nothing picturesque, nothing that chains our eyes to the portrait in love or delight; yet this instinctive sentiment of aversion is a most unimpeachable testimony that the artist has redeemed his promise in giving us the scene,

"As truth will paint it, and as bards will not."

He conducts us to the cottage door, and points to the melancholy group within; the "drooping weary sire," worn out with toiling for

the bread that perisheth; his miserable offspring crowding in hungry wretchedness round the "matron pale," who

With trembling hand
Turns on the wretched hearth th' expiring brand.

The exquisite description of the village workhouse, which first introduced the poetry of Crabbe to the notice of Sir Walter Scott and Wordsworth, may even now be applied to many similar abodes in the district from which it was originally copied. Those "walls of mud," which scarcely bear "the broken door," still pain the passers by, although the "dull wheel" no longer "hums doleful through the day."

Severe, and even repulsive, as many of Crabbe's portraits are, it would be acting most unjustly to his genius to allow the reader to retain an impression which has become very general, that he is essentially a gloomy and sombre writer. No doubt, was the eloquent remark of Professor Wilson, to persons who read his poetry superficially and by snatches and glances, it may seem to give too dark a picture of life, but this is not the feeling which the study of the whole awakens: here and there he presents us with images of almost perfect beauty, innocence, and happiness; but as such things are seldom seen and soon disappear in real life, it seems to be his opinion that so likewise ought they to start out with sudden and transitory smiles among the darker or more solemn pictures of his poetry. Now we take this to be true, and that there are times when no poet in English literature gazes with a more holy gladness on the "settled countenance of peace," or whose eyes are more often "charmed away from the troubles and wickedness of life to its repose and its virtue." He closes up his captive in a narrow and miserable cell, but the blessed light of heaven streams through the grating; he gives him an iron pallet for his couch, but peace strews his hard pillow with flowers of sweet odour. The peasant of Wordsworth is ennobled by the feeling of poetry; the peasant of Crabbe is dignified by the mild and long-suffering spirit of the Gospel. Over his blackest portraiture of human crime and misery gleams of light are sometimes shed, and the evil spirit is often dispossessed by the music of early innocence and virtue.

There is a passage in the twenty-third letter of the *Borough on Prisons*, representing the dream of a condemned felon, so beautiful that we cannot resist the temptation of extracting a part of it. It may not be improper to observe that the tale itself originated in a visit which Crabbe paid to Newgate during his melancholy season of affliction in the metropolis. The criminal has been suddenly transported by the visions of the night to his

native village, and beholds again the chamber of his youth, and clasps once more the hand of her whom he loved as they wander along the "pleasant garden walk."

"Yes! all are with him now, and all the while
Life's early prospects and his Fanny's smile;
Then come his sister and his village-friend,
And he will now the sweetest moments spend
Life has to yield.

* * * * *

They feel the calm delight and thus proceed
Thro' the green lane; then linger in the mead—
Stray o'er the heath in all its purple bloom,
And pluck the blossoms where the wild bees hum;
Then thro' the broomy bound with ease they pass,
And press the sandy sheepwalks' slender grass,
Where dwarfish flowers among the gorse are spread,
And the lamb browses by the linnet's bed;
Then cross the bounding brook they make their way
O'er its rough bridge, and there behold the bay!
The ocean smiling to the fervid sun—
The waves that faintly fall and slowly run—
The ships at distance and the boats at hand;
And now they walk upon the sea-side sand,
Counting the number, and what kind they be,
Ships softly sinking in the sleepy sea."

The lines marked in *Italics* strike us as exquisitely beautiful, both in thought and diction. The melody seems also perfect; whether the continued alliteration in the last line was intentional or accidental we do not know, but it unquestionably realizes in a very peculiar manner the appearance of vessels upon an unruffled, sunny sea in the summer time. The "lamb browsing by the linnet's bed" is sweetly expressive of rural serenity and repose.

Of Crabbe's tales the principal defect appears to be the paucity of incident, the dramatic action is the slightest imaginable; they are, in fact, only tales because they can be nothing else. Their great recommendation is their truth; the sketches of country society either have the muscular bearing of the seafaring tribe, or the more simple manners of rustic life. His village girls are not parodies of London milliners; his heroes are any thing but prodigies. Their misfortunes are evolved out of the plot in the most natural manner; they are not placed in such castles as never were built, in the midst of such forests as never grew; their misfortunes are all satisfactorily accounted for. We know that Allen Booth would have returned to marry Isabel if he had not been captured by the Spaniards, and we feel quite convinced

that "it's all up" with the "Gentleman Farmer" when he surrendered his outward man to the care of the Scotch doctor.*

The poetry of Crabbe, we suspect, is not so well known as to render an extract superfluous, and we shall endeavour to illustrate our remarks by the tale of Phœbe Dawson, which is said to have engaged the attention of Mr. Fox in the painful hours of his last illness, and to have been one of the few poetical pieces which continued to delight the declining Magician of the north.

"Two summers since, I saw at Lammas fair
The sweetest flower that ever blossomed there,
When Phœbe Dawson gaily crossed the green
In haste to see, and happy to be seen ;
Her air, her manners all who saw admired ;
Courteous tho' coy, and gentle tho' retired ;
The joy of health and youth her eyes display'd,
And ease of heart her every look convey'd ;
A native skill her simple robes express'd,
As with untutor'd elegance she dress'd ;
The lads around admired so fair a sight,
And Phœbe felt, and felt she gave delight.
Admirers soon of every age she gain'd,
Her beauty won them, and her worth retain'd ;
Envy itself could no contempt display,
They wish'd her well, whom yet they wish'd away.
Correct in thought she judged a servant's place
Preserved a rustic beauty from disgrace ;
But yet on Sunday eve, in freedom's hour,
With secret joy she felt that beauty's power ;
When some proud bliss upon the heart would steal,
That poor or rich a beauty still must feel."

Phœbe at length falls in love with a tailor, who, like many other people, was not as good as he ought to have been :

"Now through the lane, up hill and 'cross the green,
(Seen but by few and blushing to be seen)—
Dejected, thoughtful, anxious, and afraid,
Led by the lover, walk'd the silent maid,
Slow thro' the meadows roved they many a mile,
Toy'd by each bank, and trifled at each stile ;
While as he painted every blissful view,
And highly coloured what he strongly drew ;
The pensive damsel, prone to tender fears,
Dimin'd the false prospect with prophetic tears.
Thus pass'd th' allotted hours, till, lingering late,
The lover loiter'd at the master's gate ;
There he pronounced adieu ! and yet would stay,
Till chidden, soothed, entreated, forced away ;

* See the tales of the "Parting Hour," and the "Gentleman Farmer."

He would of coldness, tho' indulged, complain,
And oft retire, and oft return again ;
When, if his teasing vexed her gentle mind,
The grief assum'd compell'd her to be kind."

This, says Mr. Jeffrey, is the taking side of the picture ; at the end of two years comes the reverse:—

" Lo ! now with red rent cloak and bonnet black,
And torn green gown loose hanging at her back,
One, who an infant in her arms sustains,
And seems in patience striving with her pains.
Pinch'd are her looks, as one who pines for bread,
Whose cares are growing, and whose hopes are fled ;
Pale her parch'd lips, her heavy eyes sunk low,
And tears unnoticed from their channel flow ;
Serene her manner, till some sudden pain
Frets the meek soul, and then she's calm again.
Her broken pitcher to the pool she takes,
And every step with cautious terror makes ;
For not alone that infant in her arms,
But nearer cause her anxious soul alarms ;
With water burden'd then she picks her way
Slowly and cautious in the clinging clay ;
Till in mid green she trusts a place unsound,
And deeply plunges in th' adhesive ground ;
Thence, but with pain, her slender foot she takes,
While hope the mind, as strength the frame, forsakes :
For when so full the cup of sorrows grows,
Add we a drop, it instantly o'erflows.
Her home she reaches, open leaves the door,
And placing first her infant on the floor,
She bares her bosom to the wind, and sits,
And sobbing struggles with the rising fits :
In vain they come, she feels th' inflating grief,
That shuts the swelling bosom from relief ;
That speaks in feeble cries a soul distressed,
Or the sad laugh that cannot be repressed.
The neighbour matron leaves her wheel, and flies
With all the aid her poverty supplies,
Unfee'd the calls of nature she obeys,
Not led by profit, not allured by praise,
And waiting long till these contentions cease,
She speaks of comfort, and departs in peace.
Friend of distress ! the mourner feels thy aid,
She cannot pay thee, but thou wilt be paid !"

The story of Phœbe Dawson has nothing in it which has not been told a hundred times before, but it has never been told so well.

The rank of Crabbe among his fellow bards has been variously assigned. While some have elevated him to the highest seat, others appear to question his right to any. His own vindication of his poetical principles may be seen in the Preface to his *Tales*, published in 1812, from which we shall make a brief extract. After quoting the well-known and exquisite passage from the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, in which Shakespear draws so beautiful a picture of poetical genius, he continues—

“Hence, we observe, the poet is one who, in the excursions of his fancy between heaven and earth, lights upon a kind of fairy-land, in which he places a creation of his own, where he embodies shapes and gives action and adventure to his ideal offspring; taking captive the imagination of his readers, he elevates them above the grossness of actual being into the soothing and pleasant atmosphere of supramundane existence; there he obtains for his visionary inhabitants the interest that engages the reader's attention without ruffling his feelings, and excites that moderate kind of sympathy which the realities of nature oftentimes fail to produce, either because they are so familiar and insignificant that they excite no determinate emotion, or are so harsh and powerful that the feelings excited are grating and distasteful. Be it then granted that (as Duke Theseus observes) such ‘tricks hath strong imagination,’ and that such poets ‘are of imagination all compact;’ let it be further conceded that theirs is a higher and more dignified kind of composition, nay, the only kind that has pretensions to inspiration; still, that these poets should so entirely engross the title as to exclude those who address their productions to the plain sense and sober judgments of their readers, rather than to their fancy and imagination, I must repeat that I am unwilling to admit, because I conceive that by granting such right of exclusion a vast deal of what has been hitherto regarded as genuine poetry would no longer be entitled to that appellation.”

In this case, as in most others, the truth will be found, we apprehend, between the two extremes. There cannot surely be any necessity to refuse the honours of a painter to Gainsborough, because he could not produce the “*Transfiguration*,” or to deny Cowper's title to the name of poet, because he did not write a rival to *Paradise Lost*. In poetry, as in its sister arts, there are many degrees and kinds of excellence, and where any of the *vivida vis*—the true inspiration—is present, we ought to speak of the author only in terms of relative superiority or inferiority. The modern attempt to dethrone Pope only ended, as all such rash, we were going to say prophane, attempts ought to end, in the discomfiture and disgrace of the revolvers. Mr. Crabbe writes upon this topic with propriety and clearness. He himself had indeed very little, if any, of that genius which Shakespear describes. His merits and defects were those of a Dutch artist—vigour and coarseness. His eye, as it only embraced a few

objects, so it dissected them with the most untiring diligence. It is not a paradox to affirm that he was only great when he was little—that his most surprising effects arose out of his minuteness. If he had painted the Deluge, like Bassan, one of the most prominent objects would undoubtedly have been a brass pan. Pope was the poetical master he delighted to honour, and he was probably indebted to that well-known passage, beginning, “*In the worst inn’s worst room,*” for the style which he afterwards so excelled in. One of the witty authors of Rejected Addresses called him Pope in worsted stockings. His verse was certainly of a very different texture from that of the author of the Rape of the Lock.

His language, however, is suited to the subject—hard, cold and frequently prosaic. It is only in his occasional lyrics that the absence of poetic diction is strongly felt. By poetic diction we do not mean that indiscriminate mixture of roses and posies, and flowers and bowers, which run wild over so many pages of modern verse; but a language which shall receive a hue from the imagination, and shall differ in some measure from the every-day dialect of common life. None of our readers require to be told that the language of Virgil is not the language of even Livy—much less of any other Latin historian. But many of Crabbe’s poems, if deprived of their metrical form, would not only cease to retain any indication of a poetical origin, but would really become very idiomatic prose. To pursue this argument would lead us beyond our limits; we may, however, extract two stanzas from a song which is now published for the first time in the fourth volume of Crabbe’s Poems. It was originally written in the album of the Duchess of Rutland.

“ At sea, when threatening tempests rise,
 When angry winds the waves deform,
 The seaman lifts to heaven his eyes
 And deprecates the dreaded storm.
 Ye furious powers, no more contend;
 Ye winds and seas, your conflict end;
 And on the wild subsiding deep
 Let fear repose and terror sleep.
 At length the waves are hush’d in peace,
 On flying clouds the sun prevails;
 The weary winds their efforts cease,
 And fill no more the flagging sails;
 Fix’d to the deep the vessel rides
 Obedient to the flagging tides;
 No helm she feels, no course she keeps;
 But on the liquid marble sleeps.”

Who would imagine this to be the commencement of a love-song?

It will not be unpleasant, we hope, to our readers, to compare with these stanzas a little poem of Mrs. Hemans, written in a style such as Crabbe had no conception of, and which, though somewhat too aureate, offers no bad specimen of poetical diction. The fair and accomplished authoress has not received the honour which belongs to her; if her lyre has only few notes, they are full of dignity and a rich and impressive harmony.

“ And I too in Arcadia dwelt.”

A celebrated picture of Poussin represents a band of shepherd youths and maidens suddenly checked in their wanderings and affected with various emotions by the sight of a tomb which bears this inscription—*Et in Arcadia Ego*.

“ They have wandered in their glee
 With the butterfly and bee;
 They have climbed o’er heathery swells,
 They have wound through forest dells;
 Mountain moss hath felt their tread,
 Woodland streams their way have led;
 Flowers in deepest shadowy nooks,
 Nurslings of the loveliest brooks,
 Unto them have yielded up
 Flagrant bell and starry cup:
 Chaplets are on every brow—
 What hath stay’d the wanderer now?
 Lo! a grey and rustic tomb,
 Bowered amid the rich wood gloom;
 Whence these words their stricken spirits melt,
 ‘ I too, shepherds! in Arcadia dwelt.’

“ There is many a summer sound
 That pale sepulchre around;
 Thro’ the shade young birds are glancing,
 Insect wings in sunstreaks dancing;
 Glimpses of blue festal skies,
 Pouring in when soft winds rise;
 Violets o’er the turf below
 Shedding out their warmest glow;
 Yet a spirit, not its own,
 O’er the greenwood now is thrown;
 Something of an under note
 Thro’ its music seems to float,
 Something of a stillness grey
 Creeps across the laughing day;
 Something dimly from those old words felt,
 ‘ I too, shepherds! in Arcadia dwelt.’

“ Was some gentle kindred maid
 In that grave with dirges laid;

Some fair creature with the tone
 Of whose voice a joy is gone,
 Leaving melody and mirth
 Poorer on this altered earth?
 Is it thus? that so they stand
 Dropping flowers from every hand?
 Flowers and lyres and gathered store
 Of red wild fruit prized no more?
 No! from that bright band of morn
 Not one link hath yet been torn;
 'Tis the shadow of the tomb
 Falling o'er the summer bloom,
 O'er the flush of love and life
 Passing with a sudden strife;
 'Tis the low prophetic breath
 Murmuring from that house of death,
 Whose faint whispers thus their hearts can melt,
 'I too, shepherds! in Arcadia dwelt.'"

We would not destroy the charm of this lovely poem by minute criticism, but we may point out two errors which call for correction; when Mrs. Hemans says that

"They have climbed on heathery *swells*,"

she does not write English, for we have no such word as *swells* in the language, except as a verb. So, again, a "stillness grey," however poetic and pleasing, can hardly, perhaps, be a legitimate phrase for silence, which, having no substance, cannot be invested with colour. Milton, we know, has the raven wing of darkness, and a modern poet of no small fame has the "white stillness." We are not sure that the application of either is admissible. The last seems to savour of affectation.

But the muse of Crabbe never seduced him into these delicate mysticisms. His most ambitious lyric efforts, Sir Eustace Grey, and the Hall of Justice, are of a different, and certainly in some parts of a higher order. That passage in which the unfortunate victim of phrenzy is carried to the land of universal silence, is very nobly conceived.

"Upon that boundless plain below,
 The setting sun's last rays were shed,
 And gave a mild, a sober glow,
 Where all were still, asleep, or dead.
 Vast ruins in the midst were spread,
 Pillars and pediments sublime,
 Where the grey moss had formed a bed,
 And clothed the crumbling spoils of time.

" There was I fix'd, I know not how,
 Condemn'd for untold years to stay ;
 Yet years were not—one dreadful *now*
 Endured no change of night or day ;
 The same mild evening's sleeping ray
 Shone softly solemn and serene,
 And all that time I gazed away,
 The setting sun's sad rays were seen."

The quiet of the evening scene, contrasted with the horror and tumult of his own heart, is very beautiful. But the Hall of Justice is, perhaps, upon the whole, of all Crabbe's poems, that which impresses the reader with the highest opinion of his genius. The hard and frightful lineaments of a vicious and abandoned character are marked in every line.

We must hasten to bring our observations to a conclusion.

In all the social duties of life, Crabbe was most exemplary; and no person can read the warm-hearted pages of his affectionate biographer without admiring the beautiful union of the Christian with the poet—somewhat of eccentricity, however, mingled with the discharge of his sacred office. His son observes, oddly enough, that he had a trait very desirable in a minister—the most complete exemption from fear or solicitude. " I must have some money, gentlemen," he would say, in stepping from the pulpit. This was his notice of tithe day. Once or twice, finding it grow dark, he abruptly shut his sermon, saying, " Upon my word I cannot see, I must give you the rest when we meet again." He would walk into a pew near a window, and stand on a seat and finish his sermon with the most admirable indifference to the remarks of his congregation. He was also, like his own author-rector, careless of hood and band.

Now we really do not consider these to be traits " very desirable in a minister;" but on the contrary think them calculated to bring religion into contempt and derision, as every thing which impairs the solemnity of the hallowed ministration of the Gospel necessarily must. Such a misfortune, we are sure, was never contemplated by the excellent minister, but we are sorry that he should have lent the influence of his example to any thing like negligence or levity of deportment in a servant of the temple of the Most High.

ART. V.—*An Argument to prove the Truth of the Christian Revelation*, By the Earl of Rosse.—London: Murray, 1834.

WE profess that our spirits have derived very great refreshment from the perusal of this volume. We are at this moment surrounded on all sides with the noise of many waters. In the skies above we behold signs of vicissitude and commotion. In the earth beneath we have the raging of the waves, and the madness of the people who *imagine a vain thing*. But, in the midst of all this tumult, a voice is heard to declare, with calm solemnity, *As for me and my house we will serve the Lord*. And this voice comes, not from the retreats of Theology—not from the lips of *hirelings*—not from the shrines of *Priestcraft* and *Imposture*. It comes from the high places of the earth. It comes from the region of dignity and affluence. It is uttered by one who cannot possibly be prompted by any personal and merely secular interest, to the support and propagation of falsehood. We therefore listen to this voice as ominous of good. The pursuits of literature and science, in all their branches, are allowed to form a noble occupation for the opulent and the great. But whenever we behold the *honorable of the earth* girding themselves up to a patient and faithful investigation of heavenly things, we have before us a spectacle incomparably more elevated than that of mere lettered ease. We then witness the supremacy of Divine Truth in one of its most potent manifestations. We cannot but feel, with more than ordinary force, the power and the reality of religion, when we find that it can captivate the affections and enchain the thoughts of those who are surrounded by every thing which can make this transitory scene bright and glorious in their eyes. And hence it is that we cordially hail the publication now before us. We accept it as a faithful and perfectly unbiassed testimony *to the truth as it is in Jesus*. We even venture most humbly to regard it as an indication that God has not hidden his face from our wise, and our noble, and our mighty men; and that He will yet cause the rich in this world's goods to be likewise rich in faith, to the honor and praise of his holy name.

The style of this work is throughout remarkable for perspicuity and ease. We can imagine (though there may be some fancy in this) that, even if it had appeared anonymously, we should have been enabled to pronounce that it was the performance of one who was accustomed to the best society. There is nothing ambitious in it—no bursts of fine writing—no fits of overwrought sentiment—not the slightest approach to the confines of enthusiasm. But there is about it a tone of deep and sedate conviction :

and the language in which this is expressed is precisely what might be expected from a person not very solicitous about literary fame, but nevertheless accustomed on all occasions to deliver himself with propriety and self-possession.

But to come to more substantial matters. The noble author commences his argument with the Mosaic history of the creation : and here it is observable that he ranges through this very dark and awful region of inquiry with much less embarrassment and difficulty than is usually experienced by professional divines. It is natural enough, and it is moreover very fit and right, that the appointed guardians and interpreters of the sacred oracles, should watch over them with more than ordinary jealousy ; and nothing could be more ungenerous or more unrighteous, than to stigmatize them as ignorant and cowardly bigots, for looking with something like a feeling of dismay upon the stupendous Apocalypse which Geology has, of late years, partially disclosed to our view. The Scriptures seem to speak of the vast work of Creation as an affair of six little days. But, lo ! the magician hath smitten the earth with his hammer ; and, behold, there is straightway spread out before our eyes a record, written on the solid rocks, which, if it hath been rightly read, speaks of periods and of cycles that baffle calculation. Monuments are laid bare to our gaze, the very preparation of which may have been the work of a hundred ages ; —a vast sepulchre, in short, which tells us of a time when this terraqueous globe was the undisputed inheritance of strange and gigantic monsters, unawed by the presence and the dominion of reasoning man. Is it, then, wonderful that they who had hitherto relied with pure simplicity of faith on the oldest written testimony in the world, should have been startled at these prodigies, and should even been disposed, at first, to avert their eyes from the scene, almost with an emotion of incredulous hatred ? Would it have been to their honor, that they should have stood by, with cold and faithless apathy, while Philosophy was calling up witnesses from the bowels of the earth, to impeach (as it was feared) the records of inspiration ?

There is reason to hope that the nervous agitation, and the feverish excitement, produced by the first disclosure of these subterranean mysteries, are now beginning to subside. For ourselves, we are well content that theology and physical science should each, for a time, (it may be for a very long time,) labour in their respective and separate vocations, and upon their own peculiar principles. The geologists, we all know, are intensely busy in exploring and deciphering the documents, which their labours have dug up and brought to light ; and even so, we say, let the divines and the critics spare no pains in the interpretation

of the documents which have been placed in *their* hands by the Divine Wisdom and Goodness. If it be true that Scripture has provided us with a clear *Natural History* of the wonders of creation,—by the statements of that history we must, of course, be prepared to abide, as faithfully as by the representation which Scripture has given us of other historical events. But before either party commit themselves to the mischievous and officious rashness of *putting enmity* between philosophy and Scripture, let each of them,—both the adherents and the pupils of philosophy, and the champions of Scripture, be quite sure that they have rightly comprehended and expounded the records in which they respectively profess to search for the truth.

It is well known that one expedient resorted to for bringing the testimony of geology into accordance with that of the Bible, has been, to expand the six days of creation into six demiurgic periods of indefinite length. This expedient, it is also well known, has been emphatically denounced by many distinguished divines, as a virtual surrender of the authority of the Sacred Record. “The testimony of the Sacred Historian,” says Bishop Horsely, “is peremptory and explicit. No expressions could be found *in any language*, to describe a gradual progress of the work for six successive days, and the completion of it on the sixth, in the literal and common sense of the word *day*, more definite and unequivocal than those employed by Moses; and those who seek or admit figurative expositions of such expressions as these, seem to be not sufficiently aware, that it is one thing to write a history, and quite another thing to compose riddles.”* And it is very remarkable that this same expedient seems, of late, to have found as little favor with the philosophers as with the divines. “Another indiscretion,” says Professor Sedgwick, “has been committed by some excellent Christian writers on the subject of Geology. They have not denied the facts established by this science, nor have they confounded the nature of Physical and Moral Evidence. But they have *prematurely*, (and therefore, without an adequate knowledge of all the facts essential to the argument), endeavoured to bring the natural history of the earth into a literal accordance with the Book of Genesis;—*first*, by extending the periods of time implied by the six days of the Creation, (and whether this may be rightly done, is a question only of criticism, and not of Philosophy); and *secondly*, by endeavouring to shew that, under this new interpretation of its words, the narrative of Moses may be supposed to comprehend and to describe in order, the successive Epochs of Geology.

* Bishop Horsely's Sermons. Vol. I. p. 455. 2nd Edition.

"It is to be feared that truth may, in this way, receive a double injury: and I am certain that the argument just alluded to has been unsuccessful. The impossibility of the task was, however, (as I know by my own experience), a lesson hard to learn. But it is not likely again to be attempted by any good Geologist."*

Well, then,—let us suppose this project to be dismissed; or, at least, to be suspended for the present, as *premature*. It will then remain to be considered, whether there is any thing in the language of the Book of Genesis which compels us to include, within the six demiurgic days, the production of those primordial elements of which the universe is composed. Lord Rosse appears to be fully satisfied that there is nothing in the Bible to extort from us this belief. "Moses," he observes, "does not assert that that, *on the first day*, God created the heaven and the earth. His words amount to nothing more than a general statement, that, at some indefinite period, these elements were called into being by the will of the Omnipotent Creator. St. John says, *In the beginning was the Word; and the same was in the beginning with God*. Precisely similar to this is the language of Moses; *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*: that is, he created the materials of them antecedently to the commencement of time; but he had not yet begun to shape and fashion them in the manner which they were afterwards to assume. This he did not begin to do till the first of the six days. It is therefore expressly stated, in the second verse, that the earth was *without form and void, and darkness was on the face of the waters*. How long it remained in this state, whether for years, or for hundreds and thousands of years, we are not told. But it is very important to observe that, while in this state, the waters, according to Moses, were uppermost, and therefore it is reasonable to presume, that all the rest of the materials were then, as La Place represents them, originally settled in layers, each layer above the other, in the order of their densities."—(Append. p. 412.) In this view of the matter he, of course, has the concurrence of the geologists. "The only way," says Professor Sedgwick, "to escape from all difficulties, pressing on the questions of cosmogony, has been already pointed out. We must consider the old strata of the earth as monuments of a date long anterior to the existence of man, and to the times contemplated in the moral records of his creation. In this view, there is no collision

* Sedgwick's Discourse on the Studies of the University. Append. Note F. Cambridge, 1833.

“between physical and moral truth. The Bible is left to rest on its appropriate evidences, and its interpretation is left to the learning and good sense of the critic and the commentator; while geology is allowed to stand on its own basis, and the philosopher to follow the investigations of physical truth, wherever they may lead him, without any dread of evil consequences; and with the sure conviction that natural science, *when followed with a right spirit*, will foster the reasoning powers, and teach us knowledge fitted at once to impress the imagination, to bear on the business of life, and to give us exalted views of the universal presence and unceasing power of God.”*

Let it, then, be conceded, *for the present*, that this is so; and that the two first verses of Genesis are, as Lord Rosse contends, only introductory to the narrative which follows. *In that case*, the moving of the Spirit of God upon the face of the waters may, reasonably enough, be understood to denote the influence and operation of the Spirit’s creative and plastic energy upon the compound mass, throughout the whole period anterior to the creation of man. There may, perhaps, be something rather dreary and repulsive to the imagination, in the thought of a vast and measureless abyss of time, during which nothing was going on but the slow deposition of strata, and perhaps the development of organic life, for the most part, in its lower and more imperfect forms. But then it should be recollected, that there was either this, or—nothing! And it would surely be difficult to say, why the contemplation of mere vacuity should be more comfortable or cheerful, than the imaginary spectacle of Supreme Power, gradually working out its beneficent purposes upon a chaotic congeries of materials. It is altogether beside the purpose, to say, that the whole of the great result might have been effected in an instant by the *fiat* of Omnipotence. For we know, if we know any thing, that it is *not* inconsistent with the majesty of Omnipotence, to work gradually, and *slackly*, as men count slackness. Many of the grandest operations of the God of Nature and of Grace, are slow and tedious to our puny apprehensions. But He who inhabiteth eternity, hath eternity to work in. And, whether his might be put forth in a stately and deliberate march, which wearies the impatient spirit of man, or in sudden and irresistible manifestations, which overwhelm the faculties of man—in either case, we may be perfectly assured that his working is in perfect harmony with his goodness, his wisdom, and his power.

In saying this, however, we desire not to be understood as

* Sedgwick, *ubi supra*.

contending for the absolute certainty of the position in question. We accept it rather as a sort of *provisional* hypothesis, which is to await the final result of scriptural criticism on the one hand, and of more extended scientific inquiry on the other. And, with this hypothesis in our hand, let us proceed to the first of the demiurgic days. The work of this day is announced in words, whose sublimity extorted the admiration of a heathen critic,—*Let there be light, and there was light*. Here, then, arises the question—are we to collect from this passage that the luminous element was, at this period, first brought into existence? Or, are we merely to understand that it was then so modified, and so combined, as to fit it for the use of the animated and vegetable natures, the production of which was speedily to follow? Did the ethereal fluid then, actually and literally, begin to *be*? Or, having pre-existed, was it then, for the first time, brought into that precise condition, which alone could qualify it to do the various offices of light or fire, for the inhabitants by whom the earth was thenceforth to be tenanted? The geologist, we presume, will contend for the latter of these suppositions. We collect as much from the words of Professor Sedgwick. “Speculations like these,” he says, “starting at least from actual phenomena, are not without their use. For, without lowering one jot the proof of a pre-ordaining intelligence, they point, through a long succession of material changes, towards a beginning of things, *when there was not one material quality fitted to act on senses like our own*. And thus they take from nature that aspect of unchangeableness and stern necessity, which has driven some men to downright atheism, and others to reject all natural religion.”* We, likewise, collect as much from the obvious necessities of the hypothesis itself. For it must be observed, that “the lunar theory teaches us that the internal strata, as well as the external outline of our globe, are elliptical; their centres being coincident, and their axes identical with that of the surface; a state of things incompatible with a subsequent accommodation of the surface to a new and different state of rotation from that which determined the original distribution of the component matter;”† and, we may add, clearly incompatible with a state of rotation, commencing only after a solid spherical nucleus had been formed within. Now, if this be so, it seems inevitably to follow, “that the spheroidal form of the earth must have preceded all geological phenomena, and makes probable the condition of primeval fusion; and, following the same train

* Sedgwick’s Discourse, &c. &c. p. 24.

† Reports of the British Association, 1831-1832. Note to p. 407, 408.

“of thought, we have only to imagine *another accession of heat*, “and the whole earth must have been dissipated through planetary space, and have appeared (were there then an eye like “our own to behold it), like a mere expanded nebulosity.”* According to the hypothesis before us, then, the mass of our globe was once in a state of fusion. And how was there to be fusion, if there was no heat? And is not the element of heat, if not identical with that of light, for the most part, in the closest association with it? If, therefore, this hypothesis is to stand, how are we to understand the words, *Let there be light*? Are we to take them in their literal and rigorous import, as summoning into existence a perfectly new element, distinct from that of heat? Or are we to consider this decree as instantaneously communicating to an element, already existing, some peculiar and additional property, or influence, which might qualify it to “*act on senses like our own*,” and so to become, *to us*, the agent now known by the name of light or fire? Even if this supposition should be adopted, we can perceive in it nothing which stands in audacious opposition to the announcement of scripture. For it can scarcely be doubted, that the various properties which now belong to the primordial elements have, at some time or other, been assigned to them by the Supreme will. All those elements, as Sir J. Herschel has observed, “have the essential “character of a manufactured article.”† And if so—whenever the All-wise and All-powerful Artificer might be pleased to invest any one of them with new qualities, or to assign to it new modes of operation—the effect might fitly enough be spoken of as a fresh result of creative energy; and this, more especially, in a popular statement, designed, not for the advancement of science, but purely for the purpose of asserting the sovereignty of God, and recording the wonders of his omnipotence. On this subject, however, we speak, as becomes us, distrustfully and cautiously. Whether the soundest biblical critics will acquiesce in this accommodation of the passage to the views of physical science—or whether they will judge that, by this concession, the plain declarations of Scripture will be dangerously tampered with—we shall not here venture to anticipate. We speak not in the spirit of dogmatism, but of patient and candid inquiry. And we merely beg to point out this, as one of the questions that must seriously be considered, before the matter can be brought to a satisfactory adjudication.

But again: we learn, that before the word went forth, *let there*

* Sedgwick's Discourse, &c. p. 24.

† Hersch. Nat. Philos. p. 38.

be light, darkness was on the face of the deep. Are we, then, to collect from this that, previously to that command, the whole of the terraqueous expanse was literally involved in night? We know not what the geologists are prepared to say to this. They will hardly, we imagine, be willing to consign the inhabitants of their pre-adamite world, whatever might be the imperfection of their organic nature, to a state of profound gloom, for a countless succession of ages; more especially if it is to be maintained that the vertebrated sea-animals, whether fishes, or the saurian tribes, were endowed with a befitting apparatus of vision. Lord Rosse escapes from this difficulty, by concluding that none but the primitive rocks, which contain no animal *exuvia*, had been formed at the period of the Mosaic creation; and by maintaining that there was abundance of time for the formation of the secondary rocks between the creation and the deluge. According to this adjustment,—whatever necessity there may have been for *heat*,—there may have been no absolute necessity for *light*, antecedently to the scriptural period of its production; none, at least, for the accommodation of animal natures, since, there were then no living creatures to stand in need of it. Whether, or not, this hypothesis is tenable, we must even leave the geologists to determine. Let us, however, for a moment, suppose it to be admitted; there will still remain the difficulty of reconciling with the scriptural account, the production and loss of successive races of organized beings, between the six days of Genesis, and the diluvial convulsion. The Mosaic narrative, indeed, tells us that the waters were first peopled, then the air, and lastly the earth. But it tells us nothing of successive creations and extinctions subsequent to those six days. It tells us nothing like that which the geological record, *so far as it has yet been examined*, does seem to tell us,—and to tell us with a distinctness, which almost defies contradiction. We say nothing here of those various and mighty changes, (some of them slow and gradual, others, violent, sudden, and disruptive,) the history of which, we are assured, may be clearly traced in the crust of the terraqueous globe. But we must, at any rate, confess that we do not, *at present*, see how the evidence can be well resisted, which speaks of a series of different animal and vegetable genera and species, continued during some remote period or other, both in the waters and the land. “The Geologist,” says Professor Sedgwick, “arranges the successive monuments before him “in chronological order. He observes on them the marks of “skill and wisdom, and finds within them the tombs of the ancient “inhabitants of the earth. He finds strange and unlooked for

“ changes in the forms and fashions of organic life, during each
 “ of the long periods he thus contemplates. He traces these
 “ changes backward through each successive era, till he reaches
 “ a time when the monuments lose all symmetry, and the types
 “ of organic life are no longer seen.”* Here then is another
 point, upon which the interpreters of the Bible, and the interpreters of the records engraved upon our rocks, will, probably, for some time to come, be at issue with each other. We have, therefore, only to repeat—let us patiently wait for the final arbitrement. It cannot be pretended, that geology has yet laid the whole of her evidence before us. She has as yet to search more deeply into the bowels of Asia, of Africa, of America, of New Holland—before her case can be said to be complete. Neither, perhaps, can it be said, that the science of biblical criticism and interpretation has yet reached its perfection. These, then, are fair and reasonable grounds for mutual forbearance. And, at all events, it is certain, that neither religion nor science can be benefited or honoured, by casting scowls of defiance and contempt upon each other. Science, we know, will “ hold on the way she takes,” and rejoice as a giant to run her course, in spite of all that the advocates of revelation can say or do to arrest her career. Let the advocates of revelation then calmly and stedfastly employ themselves in collecting all the lights which unwearied erudition and research can throw upon *their* case. And let them do this in the full persuasion, that truth can never be like a house which is divided against itself. If her sons be at once temperate and faithful, their concurrent, but independent labours, must assuredly end in presenting her habitation to the world, as *a city that is compact together*. And, even so thought one of her worthiest champions, when he exclaimed, that “ Christianity has every thing to hope, and nothing to fear from the advancement of philosophy.”†

We cannot quit this part of the subject without likewise adverting to the sentiments of a zealous minister of our own communion. Whatever may have been the theological merits of old Thomas Scott,—thus much, at least, may be said of him, that of all the commentators on scripture that can be named, he was undoubtedly among the least likely to compromise the authority of the sacred writers. And yet, old Thomas Scott scruples not to say, that “ *the sacred writers were not inspired to speak of natural things with philosophical exactness.*” And he afterwards adds, that “ *ignorance and error in these respects*

* Sedgwick’s Disc, *ubi supra*.

† Speech of Dr. Chalmers at the British Association, June, 1833.

“are not fatal; and the most exact knowledge is of comparatively small value. *Unto man he said, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil, is understanding.*”* Now, without presuming to define the precise extent to which these maxims may be admissible in the interpretation of Scripture, we hope and trust that we may be allowed, respectfully and diffidently, to submit to the consideration of wise and learned men, whether we may not legitimately take these maxims with us, in our consideration of another passage of Genesis, which, on the face of it, presents no inconsiderable difficulty. In the 4th and 5th verses it is written, *And God saw the light that it was good. And God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light day; and the darkness he called night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.* At this time, be it remembered, though light was created, it was not, that we are informed, collected into a central body, or made to emanate from any particular quarter. For any thing that we learn from the text, the luminous element must have been diffused. It is not till the fourth day, that the *two great lights* were made. It was not, therefore, until that day, that light was, as it were, concentrated in the sun. And yet, of every previous day it is predicated, that *evening was, and morning was.* If, therefore, we are to contend, that Moses is here speaking with strict narrative accuracy, how are we to understand his meaning? What signification are we to attach to the phrases morning and evening, when, as yet, there was neither sun-rise nor sun-set? And what are we to understand by the expressions day and night, when used with reference to a period, in which, though light was created, neither the sun, nor any other body, was the receptacle and citadel of light? An attempt, as every divine knows, has been made to meet this difficulty, by supposing that the newly created light, though not yet collected in the body of the sun, was made to circulate round the earth, in some such manner as to produce an alternation of light and darkness; and that thus it was, that *the light was divided from the darkness.*† Whether this conjecture has any philosophical comeliness to recommend it, we shall not stop to inquire. But at least, it is obvious, that it is nothing but conjecture. And we further venture to suggest it, as an equally warrantable *conjecture*, that the sacred writers may not have been commissioned to furnish us with very precise information, when speaking of this, and of various other matters which appertain to natural history.

* Scott's Bible, note on Gen. i. 14—19.

† Patrick ad loc.

Once more, we are most anxious not to be mistaken. On the one hand, it is true, we see no sort of necessity for launching denunciations of impiety against all manner of persons who addict themselves to the prosecution of geological science. Neither, on the other hand, are we the advocates for a lax and unfaithful handling of the Word of Truth. But surely, without being false to religion, or more than just to science, we may insist on the necessity of ascertaining (as far as honest inquiry can ascertain) what we are reasonably to expect from an ancient record, obviously designed, not to supply us with philosophical details, but to lay before us a grand outline of those facts which attest the sovereignty and the providence of the living God. Surely it is one thing to approach the sacred text with reverential and pious caution; and it is another thing to build it up, by the help of rigorous interpretation, into an inflexible hypothesis, which refuses to bend before the weight of facts and the force of demonstration.

Brief and obscure, however, as the Mosaic record may be, touching the creation of man, there still shines through the darkness, evidence enough to satisfy us that the writer must have derived his knowledge, as to all essential matters, from an authentic source. He tells us, for instance, that the globe of the earth was once entirely covered with the waters: and the same thing is now told us by the masters of philosophy. Whence then could he have learned this fact, but, either directly from inspiration, or else from a primeval tradition which told the truth? There is nothing in the nature of things to suggest such an hypothesis to an ignorant builder of popular cosmogonies. The jumble and confusion of all the primordial elements was much more likely to suggest itself to the imagination of a dealer in mythological tales. Again—the same writer informs us that light was created first, and was afterwards (to speak somewhat loosely and popularly) collected in the sun. Now what is there in the actual system of the world which speaks to us of an order like this? Let us suppose that a fabler, uninformed by tradition or by science, were, at this day, to compose a narrative of the Creation; would he not be almost irresistibly tempted to place the great luminary, which is now the source of life and motion, foremost in the series of created things? Could it ever occur to him that the subtle element was first produced in a state of diffusion, and that afterwards a *chamber* was prepared for it, from whence it might issue forth as from a mighty reservoir or fountain? And from what source, save that of truth itself, could the Hebrew chronicler derive his knowledge of a circumstance so remote from all ordinary human apprehension? Furthermore, what is there in the present course of nature which could by possibility have raised up, in the head of any un-

instructed man, the notion, that the work of creation was carried on through six successive days or periods?—a fact attested to this hour by the Sabbatical institution—a fact which could never have been *known* but by a communication from the Creator himself. Once more:—"Geology," says Professor Sedgwick, "tells us, *out of its own records*, that man has been but a few years a dweller upon earth; for the traces of himself, and of his works, are confined to the last monuments of its history. *Independently of every written testimony*, we therefore believe that man, with all his powers and appetencies, his marvellous structure and his fitness for the world around him, was called into being within a few thousand years of the days in which we live; not by a transmutation of species (a theory no better than a phrenzied dream), but by a provident contriving power. And thus we at once remove a stumbling-block, thrown in our way by those who would rid themselves of a prescient first cause, by trying to resolve all phenomena into a succession of material actions, ascending into an eternity of past time."* And now let us suppose that the scriptural record were, at this moment, but just recovered and brought to light; would it not be found potently to confirm the report of science with respect to the chronology of man's creation? And should we not be constrained, on perusing it, to exclaim—who can have imparted this knowledge to the author, but He who formed man in his own image, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life? A similar exclamation would undoubtedly be extorted by the written narrative of the universal deluge, to the truth of which, in many important matters, the researches of geology seem to bear a most harmonious testimony. There is enough, therefore, in the Mosaic narrative to satisfy us that, in its main particulars, it was dictated by infallible truth—enough to inspire us with a confident hope that, when geology shall have fairly worked out the vast problem which is now before her, all subordinate discrepancies will be found at last to shrink into insignificance.

These discrepancies (as we have already intimated) do not appear to strike Lord Rosse as very formidable, even in the present state of the question. His faith derives abundant confirmation from the various instances in which revelation and philosophy are found to be in harmony with each other; and it suffers no sort of disturbance from the seeming disagreements in their testimony. We cannot but cordially admire the manly and fearless spirit in which he has conducted his argument. At the same time we must candidly avow that we are unable to boast of a courage altogether so heroic as his own: for he is persuaded that, *at this day*, the science of geology is quite sufficiently advanced to furnish a safe

* Sedgwick's Disc. p. 23.

and firm foundation for his reasonings. We believe it will be found that the most right-minded of the geologists themselves have no such confidence as this. Professor Kidd, for instance, has very recently protested against "*the principle of supporting the credibility of the sacred Scriptures on any unascertained interpretation of physical phenomena*." Such a support," he says, "appears to be imprudent as well as unnecessary; unnecessary, because the moral evidence of the credibility of the Scriptures is of itself fully sufficient; imprudent, because we have the strong ground of antecedent analogy, not only in another, but in this very branch of knowledge, for anticipating a period in the progress of science, when particular phenomena may be interpreted in a manner very different from that in which they are interpreted at present."* We accordingly reiterate—let there be no precipitation, no impatience. Let there be no hostile manifestos between theology and physical science; neither let there be any haste to patch up a hollow and perilous alliance between them. Let each of them pursue their own designs by their own independent paths; and let us wait the time when their respective courses, however divergent they may seem at the present moment, shall bring them to an amicable meeting upon common ground. If, however, in the interval, philosophy should chance to forget herself, and to wax wanton, and to lift up the heel against the majesty of Revelation,—it must not be endured for a moment. Let her instantly be held in with bit and bridle, and chastised with stripes, and driven back among her caverns and her rocks; lest she should rush in, like the boar out of the wilderness, to tread down and waste the vineyard of the Lord.

We shall produce here, for the benefit both of the philosophers and the divines, the wise and charitable counsels of no less a personage than Aurelius Augustinus, Bishop of Hippo. He too, as we learn from his own Confessions, was grievously beset by a variety of discordant interpretations of the first chapter of Genesis. The debate then, indeed, related more particularly to the two opening verses of that chapter, and involved questions entirely distinct from those which are agitated at present. But the reflections of the illustrious Father on this conflict of opinions, are nevertheless capable of a very salutary application to the controversy (if such it may be called) which is now carried on between science and theology relative to the whole Mosaic history of the Creation. "After a patient examination of these things," says Augustine, "I confess to the Omniscient God, that I perceive that two sorts of dissension may arise, when anything is declared

* Kidd's Bridgwater Treatise, pp. 181, 182.

“ to us by witnesses of veracity: the one is, when the disagree-
 “ ment relates to the truth of the things themselves; the other,
 “ when it relates to the design and meaning of him who declares
 “ them. It is one thing to inquire what is the truth touching the
 “ condition of created things, and another to inquire what it was
 “ the intention of that illustrious servant of God to convey to the
 “ mind of the reader. . . . Respecting the unchangeable truth of
 “ God we can have no contention; but we cannot look into the
 “ mind of another man, and peruse it with a certainty and a con-
 “ fidence equal to that with which we rely on God’s unchangeable
 “ truth. If Moses himself were present among us, and were to
 “ say, ‘ such and such was my meaning,’ we might, indeed, be-
 “ lieve him; but still we should not be able to discern, and as it
 “ were to read, his thoughts. Let no man, therefore, be inflated,
 “ for one, against another, beyond what is written. . . . Various sig-
 “ nifications may possibly be extracted from the words of Moses,
 “ and of these we may be unable to pronounce that any one is in
 “ opposition to the truth. How absurd then is it, rashly to pro-
 “ nounce which of those senses was in the mind of the writer, and
 “ thus to violate the law of charity by pernicious disputations! . . .
 “ The language of Scripture is graciously accommodated to the
 “ ignorance and infirmity of man. It is framed as a sort of nest,
 “ in which his feebleness may be sheltered, and his infant faith
 “ may be cherished. And if he who has not yet reached his full
 “ growth and strength, should, with *proud imbecility* (*superbâ*
 “ *imbecillitate*), rashly venture beyond that soft cradle, must he
 “ not fall? But do thou, O God, have pity on him, lest those who
 “ pass by the way should crush the unfledged creature. Send
 “ thy angel to place him once more in the nest, that he may live
 “ until he shall be able to take wing! . . . When one man, then,
 “ affirms that Moses meant *this*, and another that he meant *that*,
 “ I reply that we may more religiously and reverently affirm, that
 “ he meant to convey whatever various truths may be elicited from
 “ his words. For myself, I protest that if I were desirous of
 “ writing anything with the most commanding authority, I would
 “ not be satisfied with so framing my statements that they should
 “ convey some one single truth, to the exclusion of other mean-
 “ ings, which, even should they be erroneous, would give me no
 “ offence. Rather would I so order my words that they might
 “ embrace every possible truth that could fairly and reasonably
 “ be collected from them. I will not, therefore, my God, be so
 “ hasty as to question that the privilege of doing this was vouch-
 “ safed unto thy servant when speaking of the wonders of thy
 “ creation. Doubtless his intention was to convey to us whatever
 “ truth we may be able to find in his words; yea, many truths

“ which as yet we may have been unable to find there, but which “ those words may nevertheless be at last found to contain.”* Such were the sentiments of the great and venerable Augustine; of one who will scarcely be suspected of a disposition to handle the revelations of God with irreverent and unbecoming laxity. What acceptance his words may find with the men of criticism, or the men of science, we cannot undertake to say. We nevertheless presume to recommend his sayings to all, in such measure as men may be able to bear them. And of one thing we are quite certain, that the candid and humble spirit which dictated his words, might be allowed, with most signal advantage, to preside over the labours of the philosopher, and the meditations of the Christian.

We have been allured by the statements and reasonings of Lord Rosse into much more copious remark upon these topics, than we had originally contemplated. And we must confess that the subject itself, in spite of its manifold perplexities, is exceedingly seductive. We know not how it may be with others; but to us there is something strangely and inexpressibly interesting in the spectacle which the labours of geology have conjured up, from the depths of sea and land, and placed before our mental vision. Only think of the days (if ever such days were) when the whole of this terraqueous globe, or far the greater part of it, was one vast menagerie! Let us imagine ourselves in the midst of such a scene as the noble exhibitor has here presented to our thoughts.

“ We should then see crawling about, lizards twenty feet in length, with conical teeth, and monstrous eyes. Others still more monstrous crawling about also on four limbs, and with slender necks, as long as their bodies, and their necks rising from their bodies, like serpents, but with heads on them, like the heads of lizards. Also, moving on four legs, others, even seventy feet in length, and in size equal to a whale. In the air, too, might be seen flying lizards, armed with sharp teeth, with short tails, long backs, and high legs, and with wings attached to their claws,” (like those of bats.) “ Around the shores of these northern countries we should see the turtles swimming, and two or three kinds of crocodiles resembling the *gavial* of the Ganges. We should see also, lamentins, like those in the seas of the torrid zone. In the woody districts of these countries, along the banks of rivers, the great elephants, or mammoths as some call them, from fifteen to eighteen feet high, covered with coarse red wool, and long black bristly hairs, which formed a mane along their back, and with enormous tusks, longer than those of the elephants of our time, might be found feeding, as they were wont, under the shade of lofty palms and gigantic ferns, and amidst thickets of bamboos and other huge aquatic reeds, resembling those which only grow in the hottest regions. Here also we should see

* August. Confess. lib. xii. c. 33. 35. 37. 42.

grazing the mastodon, as large as the elephant, with enormous tusks, and a body of great solidity. Also, the hippopotamus and the tapir, as large as the others. Here, too, the great double-horned rhinoceros, and stags superior in size even to the ancient elk of Ireland. And here, the voracious hyena. All these animals were of a different species from any resembling them at the present day, and their races appear to have been extinct from the time of the deluge, which destroyed all of them that were then in existence. Such is the account which Cuvier and the other modern geologists give of these animals. Such, too, is the account which they give of their catastrophe."—pp. 68, 69.

Well may we exclaim, there were giants in those days! And what a fortune might Mr. Wombwell make, if he could but provide himself with one specimen of each of these monsters! How would the metropolis disgorge its multitudes into the Zoological Gardens, if these stupendous forms could be seen living and moving within its enclosure! And how can we wonder that the minds of inquisitive and sagacious men should be irresistibly impelled to explore the tombs of these ante-diluvian, or perhaps pre-Adamite, tenants of the waters and the land. And, when we contemplate the wonderful perseverance and penetration of Cuvier, how can we forbear to exclaim, with his admirers,

"His tibi me rebus, quædam divina voluptas
Percipit, atque horror; quod sic Natura, tuâ vi,
Tam manifesta patet, ex omni parte relecta?"

We can do no justice whatever, by any art of abridgment, to the miraculous march of Divine Providence, as it has been traced by Lord Rosse throughout the whole period of the elder dispensation. Neither can we attempt to follow him through his detail of the *mighty works* by which the Saviour of the World was pleased to authenticate his divine and gracious mission. The publication, by its very nature, is itself a compendium of those proofs, which are, or ought to be, familiar to all intelligent Christians, who would be prepared to give a reason for the hope that is in them. Thus much, however, we can honestly say;—that this compendium is such as never can be superfluous to the best informed professor of Christianity; for it may serve to bring before him, in comprehensive review, the legionary strength of evidence, arrayed in the cause of Divine Truth. And we may likewise add, that the whole argument is put forth by him in a tone of so much unaffected sobriety, and masculine good sense, that it can scarcely fail, as we imagine, to silence, if not entirely to correct, the merest wantonness of scepticism. If we were called upon to make selections, we should especially invite the atten-

tion of the reader to his lordship's representation of the several cures of blindness, and of the raising of Lazarus from the dead.

Lord Rosse has reserved for his Appendix a very sensible dissertation on the date of St. Matthew's Gospel. He conceives that this Gospel must have been composed not long after the Ascension; adopting, in this respect, the view of Bishop Tomline, who was one of the latest writers on the subject, and therefore had the advantage of examining the reasonings and researches of many preceding critics. The question is of no inconsiderable importance. For, the earlier was the publication of this Gospel, the greater would be the number of living witnesses to the transactions which it relates; and, consequently, the greater the authority of the uncontradicted document itself.

Before entering on this question, however, his lordship, offers some valuable remarks on the composition of the other Gospels; a subject which has been so much perplexed by the officious ingenuity and perverse industry of the German critics, that one is apt to rise from the investigation with the impression that the Gospels never could, by any possibility, have been compiled *at all!* The explanation of the noble author has at least simplicity to recommend it: and we shall give it in his own words,—premising only, that, to us, it appears *at least* as satisfactory as any other which has been propounded:—

“The language spoken by Jesus was the language of the country. We have no reason for supposing that he ever spoke a sentence of Greek. All the sayings by him, as we have them in the Greek Gospels, must be translations. In the last three Gospels the translations of those sayings were made or adopted by the persons whose names they bear. We do not know who was the translator of St. Matthew's Gospel. We only know, by the quotations from it by the early Christian writers, that the translation of it was made very early, in the time of the Apostles. All the doctrinal parts of the Gospels, as we have them, are consequently translations. But their accurate agreement with each other, and the authority of the early Christian writers, and of their adversaries, proves that they are correct. The many passages that are word for word the same in the first three Gospels, have made many persons suppose that they copied from one another; or, that they were copied from one early original. But as this sameness of expression is almost entirely confined to the sayings of Jesus, it seems to me that they accurately treasured up these sayings in their memories at the time they were spoken; and by often repeating them to each other, as they would naturally do, and also to others, and, perhaps sometimes by writing them down, they had them so fixed in their minds, as generally to remember the identical words which he spoke. Indeed it would be surprising if they did not do so; for as it is evident that they believed him, from the beginning of his ministry, to be a teacher sent from God, in consequence of which they

forsook their families and occupations to follow him, we must believe that they set a great value upon every sentence of doctrine which he uttered; and that they would thus, with verbal accuracy, preserve it in their minds. The constant repetition of these sayings to the Jews in the beginning, when they were instructing them and when they were conversing with each other, would continue to preserve them accurately in the language in which they were spoken; and afterwards, when they began to instruct the Gentiles, they would with the same care translate them into Greek, and probably consult and compare with each other, the translations of many of these important passages and sayings of Jesus; and thus would the coincidence, which we now perceive in them, arise; while, at the same time, they left the narrative part to the extempore diction of the teachers; and therefore in their narratives we find but few instances, comparatively, of such verbal agreement. Afterwards, when the last three Evangelists wrote their Gospels, which they did in Greek, they retained, in general, the very words of the doctrines of Jesus, as they had been rendered from time to time by his disciples in their early discourses. In the same manner the translator of Matthew's Gospel, we may presume, adopted them likewise. And it is with great deference to that most learned and eminent prelate, Dr. Marsh, the present bishop of Peterborough, that I prefer this simple, and, as I think, natural way of accounting for these frequent verbal agreements in the Gospels, to his very ingenious and elaborate hypothesis."—*Appendix*, pp. 418—420.

With regard to the date of St. Matthew's Gospel, the following is the outline of his lordship's reasoning:—

It is agreed by all writers on the subject that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel before he left Judea.—How, then, shall we ascertain the date of his departure? The first members of the Church who travelled from Palestine were those "which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen;" but the Apostles remained some time longer at Jerusalem:—Acts viii. The precise period at which each of them left Jerusalem cannot now be ascertained; but that they had most of them left it when St. Paul went thither to see Peter, seems highly probable from the language of St. Paul himself, in his Epistle to the Galatians; viz.—*then, after three years, I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him three days. But other of the Apostles saw I none, save James, the Lord's brother.* Now it is scarcely credible that St. Paul should, on this occasion, have passed fifteen days at Jerusalem without being introduced to the whole of the Apostolic brotherhood, if they had been collected there. Michaelis, indeed, draws an opposite inference. He contends that the words of Paul imply that other Apostles *were*, at that time, at Jerusalem; but that St. Paul made no acquaintance with them, because he was not come for the purpose of being instructed by *flesh and blood* in the

mysteries of the Gospel, which he had already learned by direct communication from heaven. Instruction in the Gospel, undoubtedly he needed not. But, still, what can be more unnatural than the supposition, that a convert so extraordinary as Paul of Tarsus, should remain fifteen days in a place where the other Apostles were residing, and yet that they should not be apprised of his arrival; or, if apprised, that they should not, one and all, rush forward to offer him the right-hand of fellowship?

It has further been objected, by Bishop Marsh, that in the Acts ix. 26, &c., we are told that Saul *assayed to join himself to the disciples; but that they were afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple: but that Barnabas took him, and brought him to the Apostles, &c. &c.* This passage, however, appears to us quite conclusive the other way; for it shews, in the first place, that there was no reserve or caution on the part of St. Paul, since he endeavoured to be introduced to all the Christians at Jerusalem; secondly, that although the *disciples* (that is, the general body of Christians at Jerusalem,) shrunk from his society, he was, nevertheless, brought by Barnabas *to the Apostles*; but to what Apostles? Certainly not to the whole of the Apostles; for Paul himself affirms that, besides Peter, he saw none but St. James. And further, that there was no caution or restraint to keep him from the society of the rest, is evident from the fact, that he was *with them*,—(whom he actually did see,)—*coming in, and going out, at Jerusalem.*—Acts ix. 28. From all which it appears irresistibly clear that Paul would have seen other Apostles, and not Peter and James only, if any beside Peter and James had then been present to receive him.

But then comes the question—When did St. Paul visit Jerusalem? And, in order to ascertain this, it must be remembered that Stephen was put to death, of course, before the conversion of St. Paul; and that, if the proto-martyr was sentenced by the Sanhedrim, it must have been subsequently to the year 37, in which Pilate was dispossessed of the government; for while Pilate was in possession, the Sanhedrim could have exercised no such power. After his conversion, Paul went first to Arabia, and thence returned to Damascus. The length of his abode in Arabia is not mentioned; but if we allow it to have been for one or two years, and if we add to this the further interval of three years which passed before he went up to Jerusalem, this will bring his arrival there to the year 41 or 42.

If, however, as Bishop Tomline believes, Stephen was sacrificed by an irregular and tumultuous eruption of popular fury, under the government of Pilate, his death may have taken place some two or three years earlier; and, in that case, the arrival of

St. Paul at Jerusalem may have been just so much earlier likewise. But, at all events, the year 41 or 42 is the *latest* period which can reasonably be assigned to this occurrence.

Again, it was about the year 41 that *the Apostles and brethren that were in Judea* (not merely in Jerusalem,) *heard that the Gentiles had also received the word of God.*—Acts xi. After this, the Apostles could be withheld by no scruple from going among the Gentiles for the purpose of converting them to the Gospel. This, therefore, was the critical time at which those of them who had, heretofore, been occupied in the labour of conversion throughout Judea, would, most probably, go forth to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. And this, accordingly, is the time, or nearly the time, at which we may safely presume that Matthew likewise went forth from Judea for the same object. How, then, are we to evade the conclusion that the Gospel of St. Matthew was written previously to the year 41 or 42, if it be true (as all agree) that it was written before his departure from Judea?

We have no space for the insertion of other cogent particulars of evidence, produced by Lord Rosse, in support of his argument; and for which we must, therefore, refer the reader to the work itself. We accordingly take leave of his lordship, with sentiments of cordial respect; first, for shewing that he is not ashamed of confessing the *Son of Man* in the face of a sensual, self-sufficient, and froward generation; and, secondly, for having conducted the cause which he has taken in hand with a degree of knowledge which might do honour to a professional divine; and, at the same time, with a manly and sedate good sense, which must extort respect from the most perverse and fastidious gainsayer.

ART. VI.—1. *Sermons on the Leading Principles and Practical Duties of Christianity.* By Philip Nicholas Shuttleworth, D.D. Warden of New College, Oxford; and Rector of Foxley, Wilts. Vol. II. London: Rivingtons. Oxford: Parker. 1834. pp. 510.

2. *Sermons on Various Occasions.* By Charles Webb Le Bas, A.M. Professor in the East India College, Hertfordshire; Rector of St. Paul, Shadwell; and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Vol. III. London: Murray. 1834. pp. 393.

SOME of our readers may feel inclined to ask us, “why we have put these two volumes together in a single article?” Certainly not because they are not each of them well worthy of a separate and elaborate examination; nor because they present so many points of similarity, either in the matter or the manner of compo-

sition, that the remarks which are applicable to the one will be found for the most part applicable to the other. Still, however, amidst many features so strikingly different that they may be said to exhibit a contrast rather than a resemblance, they do possess certain lineaments in common which we are desirous to point out; and a brief review of them conjointly—far too brief, indeed, for the value of their contents—may afford an opportunity at the end of making a few observations upon the doctrinal and practical divinity of that section of the Church to which they both belong.

One great and common distinction, in which these volumes are conspicuous, is the pre-eminence of their merit. They stand foremost, we think, among the *collections* of sermons lately published by any one writer. Many volumes of discourses have, it is true, come before our notice, sound, earnest, and excellent in their way, admirably adapted to the parochial uses for which they were intended; but these are, upon the whole, of a higher and more philosophical cast. Mr. Melvill, again, has exhibited powers which might well entitle him to the same rank. But in addition to certain peculiarities and extravagancies of doctrine, there still lingers an immaturity, or an inequality, about that gentleman's productions, which are of infinite disservice to them when weighed in the balance of rigid and impartial criticism; and although Mr. Melvill displays every here and there the *disjecta membra*, the scattered beauties of a fine poet as well as a fine orator, he too often leaves upon us, after all, the impression of a magnificent *boyishness*, and a rich exuberance of exaggerated common-places; he is but the strongest instance which we have seen for a long period how a man of extraordinary talent can produce a very attractive specimen of a style constructed on wrong principles. In the present volumes there is more of calm, solid, well digested sense; more of strict and chastised taste, and more finished *manliness* of composition, the result of thought, of practice, of extensive learning and research; a rejection of false or superfluous embellishments, and a disdain of all attempts to array known and simple truths with a parade of illustrations and a mere semblance of profundity.

At the same time the style of Mr. Le Bas is decidedly a rich and ornamented style. There is much of pomp and dignity in its march. Without redundancy, it is full and sonorous; without mannerism, it has a bold and peculiar character; and the thoughts are so from being exhibited, like skeletons, in a bald and fleshless nakedness, that they are usually clothed in a dress of imposing diction or of noble imagery.

It strikes us as a peculiar advantage in his Sermons that they are not of that enormous length which might render them quite

useless as models to a young preacher. It is, we think, a far more serviceable thing to present discourses in a shape and of a bulk convenient for delivery from the pulpit, than to spread them out into long treatises or orations which could not have been addressed to an ordinary audience on any single occasion, and therefore which can exhibit no pattern for compressing the thoughts and illustrations into a compass the best adapted for practical purposes.

But a stronger recommendation of these Sermons is the cautious and sober tone of their theology, against which, however, no coldness can be charged, no want of earnestness and decision, no evasion or attenuation of great doctrines. Mr. Le Bas is ardent and cogent in his eloquence, and therefore he may well hold himself aloof from the common arts of petty popularity. He disdains all enthusiastic and lacrymose appeals to mere excitability or religious sentimentality; in his representation of the divine nature and dispensations, he would inspire a holy love rather than a grovelling and slavish fear, and scorns to build up the structure of superstition upon the foundations of an irrational terror; while, at the same time, he shrinks not from displaying the severer majesty as well as the gentler attractiveness of religion, and calls up before the imagination the full awfulness of an Almighty and Omniscient God.

We point out these capital distinctions much more for the example of others than in commendation of Mr. Le Bas. If he were some fresh candidate for honourable celebrity, we might be loud and circumstantial in his praise; but his place in the public estimation is so well assured, that our eulogies could not lift him to any higher elevation.

Yet in the present case, even more than in the generality of instances, we would warn our younger readers against a servile imitation. Every man, who possesses the elements of power within him, has his own style of expression, as he has his own character of thought; and although the ambition is to be fostered which would catch a general improvement from the contemplation of acknowledged excellence, or which would lead a man to study with laborious diligence the beauties which he should emulate and the perfections at which he should aim, still, if he attempts to make a close copy or transcript, he forfeits that vigorous spirit which can belong only to originality of conception and language; and it is almost a certainty that he will burlesque another, and write below himself. Here at least his failure would be deplorable. The style of Mr. Le Bas is not to be attempted with impunity by men of ordinary mould. An imitator might aspire to its solemnity, and reach only a kind of heaviness; he might aspire to

its grandeur, and reach only a kind of tumid inflation; what to Mr. Le Bas is habitual and natural would in him be effort and exaggeration; and if he adopted the antiquated forms of termination, such as "hath" and "teacheth," which are, we humbly conceive, of questionable utility even in Mr. Le Bas, he would inevitably become ridiculous in his affectation, through the lack of a weight of matter which could support and set off the peculiarity of the diction.

Upon looking into the present volume of sermons by Mr. Le Bas, we are quite at a loss, where all is so admirable, to hold up particular sermons, or particular passages, as subjects of especial admiration. We are not startled by unevenness of composition; we are not delighted by brilliancy in one page, and shocked by extravagance in the next; but the whole contents are of uniform and consistent value. Any choice of extracts, therefore, must do some injustice to the publication, because it may convey an impression that the quotations are better than the rest. Yet we cannot refrain from expressing the extreme gratification and instruction which we have received from the first three discourses in the collection; from the two sermons, the sixth and seventh, on the "Witness of the Spirit;" from the twelfth on "The Children of Disobedience;" from the glorious sermon upon "Saul at Endor;" and from the two concluding discourses on the parable of the "Sower," preached before the University of Cambridge.

As to our extracts, let it be remembered, that we give them only as average specimens of the volume, and not as *crack* passages, which stand out from the canvas through the unusual force of the drawing or the colouring. We quote, then, from the first sermon, as the fairest mode of exhibiting what Mr. Le Bas has done.

"The sting of death is sin, says the Apostle. And what says the history of man, throughout all the realms, and all the ages, of heathenism? How was it in those days, which the long-suffering of God winked at and overlooked? And how is it, at this day, in those countries which still continue to weary his patience by the multitude of their abominations? What was it that, in ancient times, demanded the fruit of the parent's body, but the sin of the parent's soul? What was it that caused the children of the idolaters to pass through the fire to Moloch? And what is it, which, at this day, prostrates the eastern pilgrim beneath the chariot wheels of a monstrous and mis-shapen Idol? What are all these atrocities, but visible commentaries on the text of the Apostle? What is there but the inward sense of wickedness, and a persuasion of the necessity of atonement, which can account for these prodigies of voluntary sacrifice and martyrdom? If death had no sting but that which it inflicts upon the body; if the sufferings of life, or the agonies of dissolution, were all that mortals had to apprehend, why is it

that fathers should ever consign their children to the fire, or their own bodies to extremity of torment? Throughout the world there is, and ever has been, a deep and indelible sense of guilt, which poisons every source of human enjoyment; which makes life restless, and the end of life terrible. It knocks at the door of the peasant, and thunders at the portals of monarchs. It tells the cottager at his meal, and the sovereign at his banquet, that he is weighed in the balance, and found wanting. It whispers terror even to the sage in the retirement of his chamber, and turns his boasted wisdom into foolishness.—And what is all the will-worship, and all the voluntary humiliation, and all the superstitious vanity, and corruption, which the world has ever seen,—what are they all, but expedients to blunt the sting which never can be taken out, and to deaden the anguish which its point is constantly inflicting? Why is it that man hath ever sought to hide himself in falsehood, but that he may escape that fearful looking for of judgment, which shakes his spirit to its inmost recesses; which makes cowards of all alike; which reduces to one wretched level him that tills the earth in the sweat of his brow, and him that is canopied in grandeur and in power; aye, and him, too, that is endowed with might, which surpasses the glory of the kingdoms of the earth—the might of a capacious and commanding intellect?”—pp. 5—7.

What, again, can be more striking or more just than the following description in the same sermon?

“It would be to handle most unfaithfully the gracious word of God, if we were to speak of the sting of death, and yet to remain silent touching that merciful provision, which the Lord of life hath made to deprive it of its bitterness. For, in truth, the secret is not to be found in the storehouses of ancient wisdom. There is much, perhaps, to be found there which may gratify and elevate an awakened understanding, but nothing, literally nothing, which can assuage the pangs of an awakened conscience! The sages of old could tell us, and tell us most truly, that vice and moral turpitude, in all their varieties and degrees, pollute and degrade the nature of man, and liken him to the brutes. And cold indeed must be our hearts if they kindle not within us at the words of flame, in which their indignation breathes against the lusts which, thus far, war against the soul. But, with all their powers, these mighty masters are speechless as to that wherewith a sinful being shall come before the Lord, or bow himself before a holy God who cannot look upon uncleanness or iniquity. Now, here it is that the oracles of God pour in a flood of light upon the darkness that is around us, for they not only tell us that sin is the disgrace and the torment of life, and that it is the sting of death, but they likewise speak to us of a way more excellent than was ever thought of in the days of ignorance; a way by which God can be just, and yet the justifier of them that believe in his mercy; a way in which death may be deprived of its sting, and its victory may be wrested from the grave. Sin, in short, is the confession of all religions under heaven. But what religion is there, but the religion of the cross, which speaks of any sovereign remedy for sin? What

religion is there, but the religion of the cross, which tells us of a power which yearneth to help our infirmities, and to aid our pleadings before the mercy seat with groanings that refuse the utterance of words. What religion is there but this which tells us of One who is the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever, and who ever liveth to intercede, at the right hand of God, for them that come unto him in penitence and sorrow? How then shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation? And how shall we attain to that salvation,—how shall we ever desire it, or even think of it,—if all our care is, not to destroy the serpent that stings our life, but merely to deaden the smart of its venom; to lose all recollection and all sense of anguish, in the anodynes, and the charms, and the sweet but deadly potions, which this world is perpetually holding to our lips?"—pp. 12—14.

How beautiful is the delineation in the fourth sermon of Christ as our High Priest.

"He knew the anguish of being assailed by our temptations, though he knew nothing of the dishonour of being defeated by their power. He went through more than all the bitterness of our struggles, though he went through them always unto victory.

"Here is the ground on which the Christian loves to take his stand. Here is the prospect which reveals heaven unto him, as indeed the dwelling place of love. We know that we have a Mediator at the right hand of the Father, who, in his own person, unites all the sympathies of man, with all the purity and perfection of God. And think, brethren, for a moment, what must have been our condition if this were not so! Think what it would be for human weakness and impurity to stand in the presence of God's unveiled majesty and holiness. Our souls are often troubled within us, even when He thundereth with the voice of his excellency. Our faculties are outstripped and overpowered by the speed and the brightness of his lightning. Our flesh and heart fail beneath the manifestations of his power, which pass continually before the eyes of the children of men, even in this dark place of their imprisonment. Who then, without fear and trembling, can approach, even in thought, to that unclouded sanctuary, in which the same power resideth, in all the fulness of its glory? And then, when we remember that not irresistible might alone, but inflexible justice, and righteousness unchangeable, have, likewise, their dwelling within that tabernacle, how can we dare to rush into that Presence, before which the seraphim veiled their faces with their wings; that Presence, the sight of whose very confines compelled the prophet to exclaim, 'Woe is me, for I am undone; for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of Hosts?' But what becomes of all this dismay and confusion of spirit when we look upon the Father, and know Him only through the Son? Where is our dread, and where our failure of heart, when we behold, in the form of a brother, Him who was the only begotten of the Father, the express image of the invisible God? Yes; the fulness of the Divine grace and truth hath shone upon us: but it hath shone upon us in the mild aspect of a human countenance; it hath spoken to us with a human voice; it

hath even wept human tears ; and hath felt and suffered, if we so may speak, with a human heart. And thus it is that all the tenderest emotions of earth, and all the most exalted attributes of heaven, seem to have made a blessed league for our consolation. If it were given to man to look on uncreated majesty and brightness, instead of lifting up the voice of praise and thanksgiving, he would be unable even to whisper out of the dust, in the accents of penitence and prayer ; for who shall behold the face of God, and live ? But to look upon God, in Christ, is a privilege which giveth life instead of death. It is a privilege which enlighteneth the eyes, and gladdeneth the heart, and giveth understanding to the simple. It is this, and this only, which can enable us fully to understand the mind of the Apostle, who saith that God is love ; yea, that loving-kindness and compassion form, as it were, the very essence of his nature.”—pp. 58—60.

In *juxta position*, let us place an extract from the eighth sermon, on “*The Church and Kingdom of Priests.*”

“ In order that you may feel these things more deeply, and perceive them more distinctly, I would entreat of you to weigh the matter thus : you all well know the loathing and the indignation which arises if a consecrated minister of God should chance to walk unworthily of his sacred calling. A profligate priest, or even a careless and worldly priest, is a name of infamy. The finger of scorn is pointed at him. He becomes an astonishment, and a hissing, and a curse. Not only do the hearts of the faithful and the godly sink within them at the sight of such a man, but even the merest children of this world can join, loudly and triumphantly, in the outcry against him, and can proclaim him as the rightful successor and representative of the disciple who sold and betrayed his Lord. And most just and righteous is it that this should be so. For if the plague-spot of unholiness can fix itself on them who breathe the very air of the sanctuary, how shall they that are without be expected to escape the pestilence ? But now, remember,—what we are to the congregations of the faithful, even such are the faithful themselves to the whole congregation of mankind. They are priests of God, and pledged to bear witness to the truth of God. Such, at all events, is the office assigned unto them by the Lord himself, unless there be deceit in the words of apostles and of prophets. Well, then ; what if one of this holy tribe should forget his high vocation ? What if a member of this royal priesthood should walk even as a heathen, or a publican, or a sinner ? Think ye that the world will be blind to his unfaithfulness ? Can he complain if he is stigmatised as a traitor, and a hypocrite ? What can the covetous Christian,—or the dissolute Christian,—or the vindictive and malicious Christian,—what can all these expect,—but that the world will say of them, that their whole life is a lie ! And what must be the end thereof, but that the enemies of God will utter the words of scoffing and of blasphemy and that the cross of Christ will be despised, and the blood of the covenant will be counted an unholy thing ? I would ask you, then,—could any man endure the thought of all this ignominy, if the nature and the dignity of his holy calling were

incessantly before his eyes? Would it be possible for him to dishonour the name of the Saviour by habitual and wilful sin, if he were to keep in perpetual remembrance the awful fact, that he, too, has been, in a manner, ordained and set apart for the service of God; that he, too, is a member of a sacred and peculiar order; that he, as well as they who serve at the altar, has been solemnly dedicated unto Him who was holy, harmless, and undefiled, and separate from sinners. Let every man, therefore, when tempted of his lusts, think of the feelings with which he himself has looked, at any time, upon an unworthy servant of the altar, and then let him say—‘Even such are the feelings which I am, at this moment, arraying against myself.’ He will then be smitten with something of the shame and horror which are, or ought to be, the portion of a selfish and ungodly priest. He will thus be fortified with one powerful motive to keep the sacred fires alive within his heart, so that the savour of death may not pass upon him, or come nigh unto him.”—pp. 138—140.

In the same style are the ensuing paragraphs from the twelfth sermon.

“Let us look, for a moment, into the artifices by which the sons of disobedience, in the seasons of fear and misgiving, hope to pacify their own maimed and wounded spirits. Their condemnation, perhaps, seemeth to linger for a season; and hence the threatenings of wrath sound often in their ears like a cunningly-devised fable. And to this thought they fly for consolation, and, perhaps, for courage. But miserable is the comforter in which they put their trust, for if they will not believe the words of an apostle, they surely may believe the facts, which a little search and forecast would bring before their sight. Have they never heard that, even in this life, some fearful portion of the wages of sin is frequently paid down? Have they never heard of the poisonous fruits of transgression, which, even on earth, will sometimes come to a disastrous ripeness? Have they never heard of ruined health, of murdered faculties, of a name which has become loathsome, of hopes that have been smitten as by a withering curse, of a sun that goeth down in darkness even at noonday? Have they heard nothing of those sudden shocks which awaken the slumbering minister of vengeance within the bosom of the wicked, and which people their very chambers with demons of remorse? Have they never known or seen that the penal fires which await the sinner have sometimes, even here, burst out beneath his feet, and made him taste of torment before the time? And if they have seen or heard such things as these, how can they endure the deceivers who tell them that no wrath is treasured up for them that do evil? With these earnest of vengeance before them, how can they dream that men may waste their strength and debase their noblest capacities in the service of their lusts, and yet that God hath forgotten, and will not see it? or that God is merciful, and will not visit for it? that Heaven hath no eye to view such things, and that hell hath no flames to punish them?”—pp. 219—221.

We can only afford room for two other quotations, which we
NO. XXXI. JULY, 1834. H

have taken almost at random ; because they happen to be easily separable from the context. The one is from the fifth sermon, entitled, " On the Great Commandment."

1. First let us look into the heart of man ; that part of his nature, I mean, which is the seat of his kindly and social affections. There scarcely lives a human being so brutalised as not to have tasted the joys which spring from that sacred source. Where is the man who has not often felt a pure, disinterested gladness at the welfare of his fellow man ? Where is the savage who knows not something of the thousand nameless charities, which shed cheerfulness and sunshine over the daily intercourse of life ? Who is there among us insensible to the delights of friendship, or wholly dead to the luxury of beneficence ? And, above all, who would endure to be thought a stranger to those pure and hallowed emotions, which consecrate our hearths, and make the very name of home a name of power and of magic, able to stir and kindle the purest fires of the soul ? Can we think of these blameless and genuine pleasures without feeling that the Divinity hath been at work in our bosoms ? Can we doubt that the Deity, who is love itself, hath chosen the heart of man for his own sanctuary ? And, if this be so, with what eyes must He look upon the dark and odious passions which often burst in upon that holy place ! How will He endure that malignity and revenge should riot in the habitation which he hath set apart for Himself ? And, if we have ever once tasted of those fruits of peace and joy which He hath planted there, how can we endure that ' the wild beasts should be in our palaces, and the dragons in our pleasant places ?' How can we bear that this temple of God within us should be converted into a hold for foul and evil spirits ? How can we bear that vultures should seek their prey in the heart, where none but the heavenly dove should take up his abode ?"—pp. 73, 74.

The other is from the nineteenth sermon.

" 2. Next followeth he that received the seed into stony places. The same is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it, yet hath he no root in himself, but dureth for a while ; for when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by-and-by he is offended.

" The stony places, we find, are somewhat remote from the way side, on which the seed is altogether lost and wasted. Their situation is, in some degree, more promising and hopeful. They have even a covering of mould to receive the seed. But the earth is not much ; so that the supply of nourishment fails, and the growth is neither vigorous or permanent. And then comes the scorching sun, or the driving tempest ; and the sickly produce withers, or is swept away. Could the most pointed rebuke find its way more directly to the conscience of the animated but superficial Christian ? There is in some natures good soil sufficient to cherish, for a while, whatever is generous and excellent ; a soil congenial with all that is great, and noble, and suitable to the dignity of an immortal spirit. And yet it may likewise be, that its depth is small ; and that it may be but the covering of a heart which, at its

core, is hard with pride and selfishness, or frozen into stone with dread of pain and evil. The sensibilities may, indeed, be quick; and the imagination may be ardent; and the perception of all that is great, and venerable, and lovely, may be keen; nay, there may be a passionate craving of the soul after the noblest forms of moral grandeur and beauty. And these, of themselves, undoubtedly are admirable qualities; and the doctrine of the Cross, the mystery of God manifest in the flesh, is fitted to call them out into intense and vivid action. But then, this mystery is a plant of more than earthly strength and virtue. Its roots have a power of penetrating to unknown depths. It cannot flourish, or even live, in a shallow soil. If it finds nothing for its support, but elements which may be scattered over the mere surface of the character, it soon begins to wither, and must perish speedily. And we find, accordingly, that the Gospel, at first, is frequently received with joy: for it holds out bright and blessed views of the destiny of man; and it exhibits righteousness and mercy in forms which must be captivating, where the heart has a capacity for admiration or for love. The spirit must feel exalted and enriched by that truth which puts to shame all earth-born philosophy. So long, therefore, as the Gospel speaks only to the hearer's understanding, or to his fancy, or to his sensibility, so long is he surrounded by visions of glory. He hath heard the sound of it in the season of serenity and sunshine; in the voice of solemn ordinances, and heavenly sacraments, and in the lessons of holy and venerable men; and he cries, in transport, It is good for us to be here. But then, perhaps, cometh a cloud which darkens the scene, and chills him to his inmost soul. The season of heaviness is at hand; and he hears a summons which says, not only, Look unto the Cross, but Take up the Cross and follow me. And then, alas! the stately growth of his profession boweth down even to the dust. Then is betrayed the shallowness of that rich mould, into which the seed hath fallen, and the unfruitful rock which it concealed. Then is it found that there was something in the 'heart of heart,' which resisted the inward thriving of the plant; something which was starving the root downward, while, upward, nothing was to be seen but a fair and hopeful increase."—pp. 358—361.

Who can read these extracts with fit and corresponding dispositions, and not be wiser and better for the perusal? All is harmonious in its magnificence. Indeed, Mr. Le Bas dwells in the loftiest walks of composition, regions too sublime to be accessible to common footsteps; and when we state that we should occasionally like something of more simple gracefulness, something of more familiar ease, something of more homely tenderness, something of more picturesque and personal description, we are, perhaps, merely confessing that our intellects are tuned to a lower pitch, and that we cannot elevate them, or keep them elevated, to the high and noble communion of great and uncommon thoughts.

We turn to Dr. Shuttleworth, who is worthy to be the companion of Mr. Le Bas. Dr. Shuttleworth's style is of a character

less ornate, and apparently less laboured. We say apparently less laboured, because we believe that there is no real labour to Mr. Le Bas, who manages, with the utmost facility, the weapons of a weighty and imposing language, which in the hands of "us petty men" would be as awkward and ponderous, as if we attempted to draw the bow of Ulysses, or wield the battle-axe of King Richard.

The sentences of Dr. Shuttleworth flow along with a smooth and placid current,—deep and yet clear, seldom precipitate, and never turbid. There are no cataracts and no rapids. There were, in fact, antecedent grounds for expecting a temperate, guarded tone; since the sermons of the Warden of New College were subjected to the ordeal of men rather fastidious and skilful to detect faults, than inflammable or easily led away by the daring thunders of a vehement oratory: and we are told that they were preached before the University of Oxford to larger and more attentive audiences, and with wider and more decided success, than those of almost any preacher among Dr. Shuttleworth's contemporaries. In us, then, it may seem presumptuous to raise any objections whatsoever against so favourable an award pronounced by so distinguished a tribunal. Yet on this very account there is the more need that our objections should be stated, upon the supposition that they are reasonable in themselves.

We think, then, that the gold,—for it is gold,—is drawn out into a wire, thin by necessity from its protraction. The sermons are too long and too disquisitional. Several of them are deficient, not merely in condensation of matter, but in unity of aim. We are far from saying that there is no connection in the remarks; but there is no scheme or frame-work of the several discourses as a separate whole. The matter is so diffuse, and linked together by so slight a thread of almost imperceptible associations, that sometimes we can scarcely see why, since the observations extend so far, they should not extend farther, or even over the entire field of theology and religious ethics. Thus, although it would be unjust to pretend that the sermons of Dr. Shuttleworth are without beginning or end, without any absolute directness of plan or purpose, we may still assert that they are somewhat loose in their texture, somewhat rambling, straggling, and undefined in their scope; and rather a string of ingenious observations, than a train of views gathered up into one emphatic and convincing appeal. Hence we the more regret that there are no titles given at the head of each of the discourses. It has been, and probably is, much the fashion at the Universities, first to write a sermon on some particular subject, and then to look out for a text, which may be prefixed for a motto. Now the Warden of the College provides us with a long text, to which he seldom recurs, and of

which he often loses sight, almost at the outset of his sermon; while he proceeds to wander through a series of strictures, in the midst of which, for want of any title to the discourse, or any synopsis of its contents, we are actually unable to discover what is the precise topic which he proposes to himself, or at least what are the limits by which he intends to confine it. In another edition, or in another volume, it would be easy to remedy this defect; and, assuredly, some trouble would be saved to the reader, and some check might be imposed upon the discursive propensities of Dr. Shuttleworth.

We speak, then, with sincere deference and diffidence; but yet we are inclined to complain that the compositions before us are religious treatises running over a broad surface, rather than close and compact sermons; although many persons may be of opinion that the nature of the congregation to which they were addressed affords a full justification, and therefore more than an apology, for the circumstance. The same reason, too, may also be assigned for another characteristic which we shall venture, nevertheless, to specify as a fault, and at which we hinted in the case of Mr. Le Bas. These discourses are, to our taste, too uniformly abstract, too exclusively speculative. They consist too much of generalities, too much of metaphysical propositions, very learned and very clever, but not *alive*; not personified, not individualized, not put into action, not embodied and set before the eye in familiar and strong instances; not brought home to our business and our bosoms. We search in vain for practical illustrations; for graphic sketches of human character and the workings of the human will; for the touches of personal feeling, and the gushes of a quick and overflowing sensibility. In a word, the fountains of the heart are not moved in their secret depths; because Dr. Shuttleworth speaks to us, rather as an inquirer than as an orator.

Moreover, while we are upon the disagreeable chapter of deficiencies and faults, we cannot help remarking, that, in this volume, as in another which he has previously published, Dr. Shuttleworth appears a little too full and too fond of Scriptural *difficulties*, a little too proud of the exhibition of intellectual gladiatorship, and a little too lavish in the repetition of certain favourite words, such as "*deep-seated*" and "*tremendous*."

But having picked these few holes, we turn to a far more grateful and a far more copious theme. Hitherto we have discussed only the blemishes, or the supposed blemishes, in Dr. Shuttleworth's work; and we have discussed them with the greater freedom, because they are the more conspicuous to our sight from the graces which surround them; and because, from his reputation

and his influence, the warden of New College must be tried by a very high standard, as he may be made an example and a model to hundreds of young divines. It is, indeed, extremely probable, that, although without design, we may have depicted them in overcharged and exaggerated colours : at any rate, they are infinitely more than counterbalanced by excellencies of the highest order. We regret, certainly, that Dr. Shuttleworth, from calmness perhaps of temperament, or from fear of the very imputation of enthusiasm or rant, has not thrown into his discourses more of warmth and vigour, more of fervid, impetuous, and impassioned appeal ; and we regret it the more, because in the occasional passages which rise above the ordinary level of his style, there is a very powerful and successful energy ; and it is only justice to say that although Dr. Shuttleworth exhibits rather the acumen of a Lysias than the fire of a Demosthenes, and we are seldom worked up to any peculiar intensity of emotion, still the inherent qualities of the sentiments and the diction carry with them a very considerable impressiveness. There are few bursts of eloquence, and not much boldness of metaphor ; there are no abrupt transitions, no startling apostrophes ; but there is every where the elegance of a scholar, and the ingenuity of a philosopher, and the piety of a Christian. All is judicious, temperate, discriminating, extremely sound, and extremely *sensible* : every sermon contains mines of thought, which well deserve to be explored ; and every page may furnish to the reader ample materials for long and profitable meditation. The whole volume teems with unquestionable ability ; it forms a valuable accession to our stores of sound divinity and useful learning ; it will take, and keep, an eminent place in our theological literature.

Here, as in the case of Mr. Le Bas, we can only afford a few extracts, which may be detached without much violence to the context.

The following remarks are as emphatic as they are just.

“ Our progress through this life may be compared to a laborious ascent up a mountain of ice, in the course of which many a step must necessarily be lost, and many a backsliding be retraced ; and where, to make any progress whatever, betokens considerable energy and perseverance. But we know that God regards the earnestness of the will, the rectitude of purpose, and the submission of the heart and affections, far more than any external brilliance of achievement ; and that seemingly imperfect services which escape our notice, may one day find more favor in the sight of him, who seeth not as man seeth, than the more ostentatious but perhaps in reality easier efforts of many to whom we now look up with admiration. But woe unto that man who would pervert these warrantable and scriptural admissions to his own destruction and to the destruction of others. Woe unto him, who would derive from the

blessed revelation of a merciful and long-suffering Creator, and of a crucified Redeemer, the blasphemous doctrine of a licence to commit deliberate sin. Woe unto him who would attempt to establish upon calculation an unholy compromise between the eternal interests of his soul and the impure propensities of his flesh, or who would dare to set up the involuntary infirmities to which the best of the descendants of Adam are liable, as a justification of premeditated and persevering profligacy. The idea that we may safely stop short of the highest point of moral excellence attainable by human endeavours, and that, because we must inevitably, and against our will, sin much, we may therefore intentionally sin more, if entertained only as a passing illusion of a youthful imagination, is highly dangerous; if maintained as a tenable theory until it assimilates itself with our habitual and later practice, is irrecoverably fatal.

“It is a well known phenomenon of our moral and intellectual nature, that practical habits grow stronger and easier of execution, by daily exercise, whilst in exactly the same proportion our mental sympathies and excitements grow from frequent repetition less and less perceptible. Hence arises the difficulty, not to say the impossibility, which all of us feel, as we advance in life, of reviving the early impressions of our youth in all their original freshness and warmth of colouring. This law of our nature, on the modifications of which so much of our personal character depends, is more particularly influential on the formation of our religious habits. It is from this cause that even the best resolutions of amendment of life, if frequently, but yet ineffectually made, become eventually not merely nugatory, but worse than nugatory; that is to say, whilst the unrestrained licentious habits grow daily more and more confirmed by indulgence, the countervailing stimulus of occasional religious excitement grows in like manner weaker by continual repetition. Thus the voice of conscience, which once spoke as in thunder, becomes at length scarcely an audible whisper. Thus one broken vow of reformation becomes at once the precedent, and subsequently the excuse, for another and another act of similar inconsistency; till, tired with fruitless attempts, and habituated to seeing the resolutions of yesterday rendered abortive to-day, the languid and disheartened mind takes its final refuge in the slovenly hope that God will accept the will for the deed, and allow us to plead the infirmities of our nature as an excuse for our systematic disobedience to his will.”—Vol. ii. p. 332—334.

The eighth sermon, on the all-important topic of “Faith and Works,” deserves the most serious and attentive study. After tracing the analogy between the Mosaic and Christian dispensations, Dr. Shuttleworth proceeds:

“Our conclusion, then, founded as it appears to me upon the whole consistent tenor of Holy Writ, is the proposition with which we set out; namely, that the first and great position of all revealed religion is the original duty of perfect obedience to a perfect moral law. Had man’s nature possessed in itself the means of such perfect obedience, we have no reason to believe that any subsidiary machinery, or secondary

contrivance whatever, under the form of ritual expiations, or of the blessed atonement of our Redeemer himself, would have been necessary for our final salvation. Man's performance and will would have been adequate to the task imposed upon him, and the result would have been everlasting life. But every moment's experience shows us that we all fall short, infinitely, fearfully short, of this imaginary perfection. By a strange anomaly in our constitution, which has never been explained, excepting by the inspired history of the fall of our first parents, the sense and perception of the ideas of goodness indeed, to a certain degree, remain with us, but the life, the warmth, the practical spirit of holiness is, as we all painfully feel, far, very far departed from us. Here then, is the next great question which naturally suggests itself. How shall we hope to lift a burden, not indeed heavy in its original nature, but overpoweringly so when considered with reference to the anomalous constitution of the human heart? The whole tenor of revelation affords us a consistent answer. God, who has enjoined the task, has himself found out a way for our relief. He asks no longer for that faultless and superhuman service, which it is evidently beyond our means to afford; but, limiting his demand to such exertions as, with the assistance of his co-operating grace, still come within the scope and compass of mortal powers, mercifully points out a method by which all the remaining unredeemed portion of our debt may be effectually cancelled. Be that method what it may, it is obviously a free and gratuitous gift on his part, and it is for his infinite wisdom to determine upon the peculiar mode of its operation. Had He continued to sanctify, even to our own time, the expiatory offerings of mere animal sacrifice for that beneficent purpose, it of course rested with him to do so. But He has condescended to substitute in their place an infinitely holier and more effective sacrifice for sin; a sacrifice which, from its awful nature, supplies the strongest pledge of the fatherly anxiety by which he seeks for the salvation of his creatures; a sacrifice, which, from its most awful character, can neither leave us for a moment in doubt of its adequacy for the accomplishment of its purpose, nor of the deadliness and abomination of that body of sin which nothing less than so vast a process of atonement could entirely extirpate. What possible proposition then, let me ask, involves more fearful blasphemy than that which would assert that this very astounding contrivance, introduced by infinite wisdom solely and exclusively for averting the consequences of human wickedness, is itself intended as a warrant for deliberate, wilful, and gratuitous sin? Yet such has been the sickening and loathsome inference of false presumptuous philosophy. Such, in fact, was occasionally the base and ungrateful suggestion of the human heart, even in the apostolical age itself."—Vol. ii. p. 276—279.

"Let me not be here supposed to be for one single moment asserting the doctrine of the merit of man's best actions, as really effective in the work of our salvation. It is impossible to scrutinize impartially the various motives which influence the conduct of even the best and holiest members of society, without feeling how very short they invariably fall from that standard of purity which the perfect laws of God require from moral and intellectual agents. It is, I admit, going beyond the truth, to assert that there is no relic of original goodness in our fallen

nature ; yet even that assertion approaches much nearer to the truth than the opposite position, which would assume the fact of its own independence and self-sufficient righteousness. The middle inference between these two opposite extremes is, in all probability, the correct one. The image of God in the human soul is disfigured indeed, but not effaced. That we are intended for another and a better state of existence than the present, is attested by those instincts, energies, and apprehensions of our minds, which have little or nothing to do with our actual location upon the earth, and which, therefore, we cannot conceive a wise Providence to have placed within us, had he not intended them to be hereafter more fully developed. These, however, at this moment are at the best like golden treasures in earthen vessels, or rather, like jewels and costly works of art which are occasionally found imbedded among the ruined edifices of former ages, telling at the same time the story of their present desolation, and of the more glorious state of things with which they were originally connected. Every theory of religion which does not assert as its primary position the ruined condition of the human mind, as we now witness it in this world, is obviously wrong, because it is obviously irreconcilable with the evidence of incontrovertible facts. But harsh and uncompromising statements are seldom consistent with the sober character of real truth. The good principles of our minds are manifestly not entirely destroyed, but only crushed ; not extinct, but only benumbed and embarrassed in their operations. It is the object of religion to awaken them from this lethargy, and to restore them to their original vigour. How then would common reason tell us that this object might be best achieved, even were revelation silent on the subject ? Obviously, by invigorating, not extinguishing, the latent and almost imperceptible spark of holiness within us ; by calling into better and more consistent action our suspended or misapplied energies. Now it is evident that such is the salutary struggle in which we are engaged by the instrumentality of Christianity, if we understand our religion rightly.”—Vol. ii. p. 283—284.

“ We are saved by faith, and not by works ; because if we did not lay hold of the Divine help by faith, our salvation by works were hopeless. Our redemption is a free gift ; because, when man by the abuse of his own free-will had estranged himself from God, he forfeited every claim upon the forbearance of that Almighty Being, who, had it so pleased him, might have left him to all the fearful consequences of his misconduct. But here, let us remember, is a doctrine so far from being subversive of morality and of the necessity of human works, that it actually presupposes them. It is from God, indeed, that we originally derive the power even to will what is right, but we possess at the same time enough of real moral liberty to be able to refuse his tendered help, and consequently to forfeit the accompanying benefit. If, then, that help continues to be afforded, it is because we on our part manifest a disposition to avail ourselves of it. In other words, the sincerity and earnestness of the human heart supplies the standard and measure by which our Creator condescends to apportion his aiding and effective grace. This is a doctrine which, however scriptural, it is, I am aware, easy to entangle with the cobwebs of human metaphysics. It is as we

all know, a far from unfrequent thing for us to hear the dogma of the concurrent operation of assisting grace with human works censured, as though whatever we add to our theory of human liberty must necessarily be so much deducted from the glory of God in the work of our redemption. But may we not retort with much more plausibility on the other hand, that by denying the concurrent operation of man's will with assisting grace from above, and by substituting the cheerless doctrine of inflexible necessity in its room, we are directly contradicting the first principles of morals, and rendering nerveless and pointless all the emphatic and awful admonitions of Holy Writ?—Vol. ii. p. 285—287.

“If, then, we ask ourselves what will be the feelings which a sober but earnest investigation of the theory of the Gospel covenant is calculated to impress upon the mind of a sincere believer, we may venture to enumerate the following as necessarily the most prominent. In the first place he will be conscious of a deep and heartfelt conviction of indwelling sin, and of the weakness of his own moral powers; but he will therefore only the more anxiously endeavour, whilst he cries for spiritual assistance to the throne of grace, to use those powers to the utmost in the cause of holiness. He will aim at the possession of a degree of spiritual perfection, which at the same time he will know to be in this world unattainable, and will therefore combine with hopes and aspirations the most unbounded, humility and self-abasement the most sincere. He will therefore tender the daily offering of his feeble works of imperfect righteousness to his Maker, not with the proud self-satisfied spirit of one who is presenting an adequate sacrifice worthy of the Great Being to whom it is presented, but with the shrinking shame and diffidence of the poor widow, who followed in the train of the wealthy and powerful, to deposit her solitary mite. The sum and conclusion of these really combined and harmonious, yet seemingly discrepant feelings will be, the holy principle of faith in the Divine love and promises; the numble but unshaken conviction, that he who so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that all who believe in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life, will not be forgetful of this his gracious covenant, but remembering the immensity of the price paid for sin, will not be extreme in his censure of the sinner. But at the same time, he will recognize in the stupendous nature of that one great sacrifice, as well the most awful warning against the deliberate commission of sin, as an exhilarating assurance of its effective remission to those who through faith make themselves partakers of the covenant of redemption. Thus it is that the extremes of confidence and of humiliation meet and find their proper home in the breast of the Christian believer.”—Vol. ii. p. 288—289.

When we read some sermons and some hymns, we feel that the annexed admonitions are not without their application and their necessity.

“Misled by the circumstance that the God whom revelation announces, is described to us as a Being calculated to excite the warmest feelings of affection, two very different classes of minds,—the coarsely

presumptuous, and the enthusiastically sensitive, have too often deviated into a mistake revolting to every reverential feeling of temperate and rational piety, and which, perhaps, more than any other, has given cause to the enemies of religion to blaspheme. It is a melancholy and sickening instance of the extreme difficulty, in this state of trial, of avoiding one evil, without falling into its opposite, that persons of the warmest devotion and the sincerest good intentions have been not unfrequently hurried, by an ill-directed enthusiasm, into ideas and language better fitted to express the aberrations of carnal passion, than those supplications for mercy at the throne of Omnipotence, which befit sinful and repentant beings. * This fearful mistake, thus dangerous even in minds of the finest texture, has, we too well know, when attaching to men of coarser feelings, been productive, at various times, of the grossest perversion of religion which history records; namely, the most audacious presumption and familiarity in their addresses to the Most High God, united with the rankest and most disgusting sensuality in their moral conduct.

“To those who, from such an ill-judging warmth of devotional feeling, or from such strange misapprehension of the awful purport of revelation, may have been at times inclined to forget the immeasurable distance between the sinful creature and the Creator, or to calculate upon the assumed laxity of God’s moral government, solely because he is described as infinitely gracious; to such it cannot be unnecessary to observe that the self-same Scriptures which represent him to us as the Giver of all that is good, declare him also to be that tremendous Being whom no mortal eye can look upon and live: as one too pure to behold iniquity: one, the awful mysteries of whose dispensations even the redeemed spirits of the blessed tremble to explore: one who is able to destroy both body and soul in hell. Fatal indeed must be the error of those persons who can imagine that a Deity thus girt around with the most formidable attributes, can possibly be one whom they may safely address with unholy familiarity, or whose connivance at the violation of those very laws, for the confirmation of which Christ himself died, they can hope to purchase by an imaginary and fantastic love for his person.”
—Vol. ii. p. 95—97.

We had marked several other passages for quotation; but we are prevented from inserting them by the want of room. Our regret, however, is diminished by the reflection that our readers will turn to the volume itself for their own edification and delight.

We return, then, to the first question; and we suppose it asked again, why we have taken these two volumes together; or what are the characteristics which Mr. Le Bas and Dr. Shuttleworth possess in common? They differ, as we have seen, in style; they differ, probably, in various shades of political and ecclesiastical opinion. But they both belong to the same section—if we

* It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader how many religious publications, of an otherwise unexceptionable tone of piety, have been disfigured by the peculiarly offensive style here alluded to.

may so call it—of the Church of England; a section, to which, it is evident, we would allow a very considerable latitude, since we include Mr. Le Bas and Dr. Shuttleworth in the same category. And we are anxious to hazard a few remarks upon that party in general, while we can illustrate them by the works of two such men, whose writings uphold, and whose characters adorn it.

Here, as we well know, we are dashing upon subjects, of which many excellent men deem it more prudent and more salutary to avoid the discussion. Would that we could be of their opinion! but since we cannot, we must pursue our own course. Let it, however, be understood, that we no more expect to derive any private gratification from dealing with topics, which may give rise to painful differences of sentiment, than we should thrust our hand into boiling water for the pleasure of the immersion. At the same time, we cannot for our lives discover, how any injury should be inflicted upon the cause of truth by a manly and explicit avowal of its principles. The system which we reprobate, is the system of affecting ignorance of accusations or assaults which are actually in progress, and pretending to believe that all is peace, while other men are carrying on either an open or insidious warfare. The feeblest attacks must be formidable,—nay, must be fatal—if there is no defence: and where are the troops, so wavering in their courage, so beggarly in their equipments, so miserably provided with arms and ammunition, that they cannot enter a fortress which has its gates open, and its garrison asleep? In all ordinary cases, we think it wise to meet the beginning of evils, instead of waiting until they grow up into giants, and from their strength and magnitude are absolutely resistless. Every day heaps fresh fuel upon our conviction, that the falsest and most preposterous statements, provided only they are left uncontradicted, will fix an impression upon the national mind, which it becomes afterwards impossible to eradicate. Earnestly, therefore, would we express a fearful hope—a hope fearful from the very intenseness of our solicitude—that this system will be laid aside—this system of never speaking out—this system of feigning an unconsciousness of evils, of which no one is unconscious;—this system of thinking to stifle the hollow rumblings of agitation, which will not be so hushed—this system of throwing a little oil upon the foaming elements, which will not be so rebuked—this system, in short, of not merely treating delicate subjects with tenderness, but of passing them over in an entire silence. It is a system, which, in conjunction with the somewhat analogous practice of endeavouring to propitiate enemies at the risk, or rather the certainty, of alienating friends, has done, and is doing, more mischief to Religion and the Established Church, than all other causes in their united

operation. If it is abandoned, we shall have no apprehension; if it is continued, we shall almost despair.

But the objection to the opposite course is, that it stirs up controversy, and engenders intemperance. The contrary, however, is our belief. Assuredly, all controversy will soon be hushed, if the argument is allowed to be all on one side. But to the other party such a conclusion of it must be ruinous; and hence it happens that a frightened floundering opposition is offered, exactly, perhaps, when opposition is too late. Thus, too, as to intemperance,—it is not firmness, but the want of firmness, that is the parent of violence; as in a school, or in an army, it is the want of discipline that occasions severity; and the habit of winking at the earlier and smaller encroachments, which lead to every bold and aggravated offence, creates an ultimate necessity for a stern, and, as it appears, immoderate, vindication of authority and right.

Now, what is the particular application which we would make of these remarks? It is simply this. Injurious insinuations both as to doctrine and practice have been long thrown out against the party, which is usually designated as the orthodox party of the Church of England—insinuations of which we deem it far wiser and more politic to challenge proof than to affect ignorance. Are we to brush away the imputations in time? or are we to let the plague-spots settle? Are we to wait until the mind of the country is inoculated, and its whole heart is poisoned, by accusations that are false? For the sake of genuine Christianity, we throw down the gauntlet of defiance, and ask, who has the hardihood to take it up? We shall not utter one word in the way of offence; but we should blush and burn with shame, if we could sit in dumb acquiescence, while hints of imperfect and erring faith, untrue to the Gospel, or falling short of the letter and spirit of the Gospel, are scattered among the vulgar, the enthusiastic, or the unbelieving, against the majority of the Clergy of the Church of England. *That Church cannot endure, if such attacks are continued,—and continued without being met by an adequate resistance.*

For party-names in religion we entertain a most especial dislike, when they would tear or keep asunder one class from another in the same Church; nor would we willingly range ourselves under a banner upon which any such name has been inscribed. But if the differences become too momentous to allow of any neutral position; if our place and part must be taken; if there arises a necessity for united and concerted action; and all separate efforts would be only nugatory and inefficient, in that case our choice is made. We must cast in our lot with the men, who truly form, in our opinion, the more orthodox and apostolical, and, although the term may be denied them, the more really evangelical section of

the Church. True it is, that, in adhering to this side at this period, we may attach ourselves to what is frequently considered a falling and a desperate cause; though for ourselves, we neither despair about it, nor think it destined to fall; but rather hope that the good sense and sober devotion of the country will rally round it, in its hour of trial, with an affectionate zeal:—true it is, that we may neither look for encouragement at the hands of men in power, to whom opinions more manageable and pliant—for we will not allow them to be more *liberal*—would probably be acceptable; nor expect much flattery or favour from the mass of religionists, who would feed on a sentimental or fanatical excitement, and therefore would bestow their crown of popularity on other brows:—but our consolation will still be, not that we shall be in the train of those great and venerable men, pre-eminent for their moderation as their learning, who effected the Reformation in our Church, and whose names must be memorable in it and sacred, as long as its Articles and Liturgy shall remain:—*not* that we shall follow other men, their not unfit successors, the echo of whose mighty footsteps has scarcely yet departed from the land—*not* that, humble as we are, we shall stand side by side with many living divines, whose very shoes the pretenders who now decry them are unworthy to wipe;—but that to the best of our judgment and our power, we shall be serving the cause of true religion—the cause of the everlasting Gospel—the cause of Jesus Christ—and therefore the cause of Almighty God.

The manner in which the High Church Party has been attacked is matter of notoriety. The fox-hunting parson, the drinking parson, the gambling parson, the incontinent immodest parson, the lazy, careless, self-indulgent parson, the proud, morose, domineering parson, is successively brought forward as its representative. And if the letter-press of a book is incompetent to the work of defamation, the deficiency can be eked out by a libellous print in a shop-window. All the vices of individuals are picked up and brought together as the *beau ideal* of a High-Church-man. The modern Apelles collects the scattered features of deformity, and dips his pencil in the darkest colours of calumny, and then exclaims with a grim smile of self-congratulation “is not the portrait complete?”—But might we not retort? might we not retort upon the infidel? might we not retort upon the Dissenter? Is it not evident, that there is no picture, however hideous, or frightful, or revolting, which we might not form of any sect of Religionists under heaven, by adopting a similar process of ungenerous and iniquitous generalization? Would it not be easy, as it would be base, to exhibit the most disgusting traits of specious hypocrisy, or conceited ignorance, or nauseous cant, and

write under the filthy daub the word "*Saint*," or "*Evangelical*," or "*Methodist*?" And what we should scorn to do to others, may we not reprobate if done to ourselves? Yet when we would state how laborious, how regular, how well-instructed, are the present Ministers of the Church; when we point to the exalted qualifications which are required both intellectual and moral; then we are met, perhaps, with a reference to the days of Charles the II. or George the II., or even to the ribaldry of Fielding and Smollett, or to the veracious instances in a scurrilous novel or an obscene farce; and the wolf can still say, as he said of old, "Well, if it was not you, it was your grandfather!"

Stung, however, and goaded as we are by repeated and atrocious misrepresentations, we might bear them when coming from the ordinary quarters with Christian patience and humility. From the enemies of the Church, and the foes of all religion, we have nothing better to expect. Our sorrow is not at its height—our annoyance is comparatively nothing—until parties within the same establishment can speak of erroneousness or incompleteness of faith in connection with the tenets of the majority of their brethren;—can ascribe to them a laxity of spiritual discipline, or suggest that they dilute and impoverish the precious and saving doctrines of the Cross.

It would be a tedious, rather than a very difficult task, to run through an examination of the several aspects of English Theology between the present period and the period of the Reformation. The argument, however, does not turn upon this point. Even if it could be proved,—and the assumption of the possibility of such proof is a mere hypothesis, and the hypothesis most unfavourable to our cause,—that there *have* been times in which a diluted and impoverished divinity prevailed, and doctrines assumed a lower and less spiritual tone, and the manners of the Clergy departed in too many instances from the most elevated level of Christian righteousness, still not a step is gained in making out a case, unless it can appear that the Reformation itself was a lame and imperfect thing, that stopped half-way upon its course, or that the theology of the Church of England, at the present day, is for the most part untrue to the faith and practice of the old Reformers. The matter must be decided, not by that which has been, but by that which *is*; not by the religion of our Church, as exhibited in the reign of Charles II.; but by the religion of our Church as exhibited in the reign of William IV. Now we readily allow, that there may be a tendency in some individuals to refine and pare away Christianity into a lax and unscriptural and latitudinarian rationalism, just as there is a tendency in other individuals to work it up into a superstitious

faith, which is to be put forth as an antagonist principle to mental activity, and the free development or use of the intellectual powers: but we assert with the utmost confidence, that the vast majority of the Clergy of the English Church steer a safe and apostolical course between the two adverse rocks, in collision with either of which sound faith is sure to suffer shipwreck. They have, and must have, competent learning; as every one is aware, who knows what sort of examination is now given to the candidates for ordination, whether to the office of Priest or Deacon, and how well the young men, with scarcely an exception, come prepared for it in the several dioceses of the kingdom: and their conduct is, and must be, generally conformable to their professions, both from the force of public opinion and the vigilant scrutiny which their actions are sure to undergo; and, also, from those spiritual and evangelical motives, with which, perhaps, we ought not even to blend any inferior inducements.

And if we look to the conduct of the English Clergy during times, when it is scarcely a metaphor to say, that the thunder clouds are bursting above their heads, and that the ground is rocking under their feet, we may confidently affirm, that they have not disgraced their holy cause and vocation. With remarkably few exceptions, they have, as individuals, betrayed no sordid narrow cupidity; no disposition to abandon or change their principles, as the keys of patronage have been placed into new hands; no desire to advance their own emolument or dignity at the expense of their order; and, as a body, they have evinced infinitely more solicitude about the spiritualities than about the secularities of their Church. If some few misguided men could even be found to detach themselves from the common cause and great interests of the establishment, and then seek to make their treason a separate ladder of preferment in the very Church which they would betray, we believe in our hearts that they would be unable to bear the quiet but scathing indignation, which would light upon their heads. But to proceed:—when Bills have been introduced for the Commutation of Tithes, or the Abolition of Church Rates, or the extinction of Pluralities, it now stands upon record, that the main anxiety of the Clergy has been to preserve inviolate the principle of the Establishment and unimpaired its efficiency as an instrument of spiritual good; but that they have regarded the pecuniary difference, on the one side or on the other, as little more than a feather in the balance. But when concessions have been proposed, which ultimately involve the sacrifice of all their essential characteristics as a Church; when attacks are threatened against their Liturgy, or when the endeavour is made to confuse and embroil, if not entirely to alter

and re-model the religious education of the higher classes in the country, by the admission of Dissenters to degrees at the Universities, *then* the Clergy have lifted up one mighty and almost unanimous voice, which has entirely drowned the murmurs of a few rash or dreamy dissentients, and have come forward to subscribe their names to petitions, almost as if one and the same hand had guided their signatures; because an invasion is attempted, not merely upon the forms of their ecclesiastical constitution, but, in its certain consequences, if not in its present operation, upon the integrity of their faith. Let them proceed upon this course, and the people will be with them; or, even if the people be deluded to their own sure misfortune, and their own final regret, still an Almighty Protector will be with them to the end.

But it is sometimes said, that the more numerous section in the Church of England takes "*a lower standard of requirements*," and entertains narrower or fainter views of the weight of Christian obligations. This charge, however, strikes us, we confess, as being not merely false, but almost incomprehensible. The reason of the thing suggests to us, *a priori*, that it could not be the case, and facts demonstrate to us, that it *is* not the case. What, in the name of reason, can be found in the orthodox doctrines, which has any possible connection with a low standard of requirements? If there be any difference, it is, that the more numerous section, while it recognizes the great tenet of justification by faith, lays more stress than the other upon the necessity of good works, as a concomitant in the economy of salvation, and separates itself, by a yet wider distance, from all tendency to Antinomianism. Its doctrines, assuredly, are the very antipodes of carelessness or coldness,—nor have they any thing of mere *legality*, in the degrading sense of the term.

Once more, as to the facts, we refer with the utmost confidence to the extracts already given from the two works under review. We refer to the orthodox writers either of past or present times. Do not the pages, for instance, of Bishop Van Mildert or of Mr. Rose evince as solemn and as pervading a sense of Christian obligations, as the treatises of any divines who could be named?

The distinction, however, ought carefully to be drawn between a *serious* and a gloomy view of Christian obligations. We may affirm, that in the theology, usually termed orthodox, there is *not* less of seriousness; but we are ready to acknowledge that there is less of gloom. Christianity is exhibited with a holy and majestic, rather than with a terrible and repulsive aspect. If to have a high standard is to demand a diligent, self-forgetting, self-renouncing discharge of active duties,—to do as much good as

possible and no evil;—to be charitable in deed, and word, and thought,—to be kind and courteous, and liberal, yet personally strict, and pure, and spiritually-minded,—and to feel, at last, the inadequacy, the imperfection, the unprofitableness of all that man does, or *can* do, as forming for himself a charter or title-deed of everlasting reward,—then is the standard of the orthodox clergy as high as can be easily imagined. But if to denounce the innocent recreations and elegancies of life,—to deny that there is a proper time and place for moderate enjoyment,—to make a Christian, instead of carrying a spiritual temper into society, exclude himself from social existence,—and to cover the august and radiant lineaments of religion with a funereal pall of blackness and austerity;—if this be to have a high standard of requirements, then, perhaps, as to the majority of her Ministers, the Church of England has it *not*. But let those Ministers be judged fairly from *themselves*, and not from a few erratic specimens of heedlessness or immorality, whom the High Church party, has of all, the strongest reason to repudiate and dislike, because no party has suffered from them so unjustly or so much.

In the same way let their divinity be judged from their own authors, and not from theologians,—if theologians they can be called,—such as Blair and Alison, between whom and them there subsists no link or alliance. Are such authors wanting? Even as we write, the recollection of mighty names comes upon us like a flood:—and yet not so much the Hookers, and the Jewels, the Barrows, and the Taylors, the Tillotsons, or the Horsleys, of times gone by, as men, who at this day adorn the bench, and send forth from our pulpits the genuine doctrines of the Gospel in the full beauty of their holiness; men, who preserve the harmony and entireness of truth, and, without offensive familiarity, or the perpetual recurrence of the same phrases, make Jesus Christ the capital figure in every compartment of their *cavass*;—men, with whose names we forbear to illustrate our page, because we would not incur the imputation of flattery.—Let the character of High-Church doctrines be judged by that vast and glorious body of divinity, which has cast a constant illumination over the Christian world:—or let it be judged by the Bampton, and the Boyle, and the Warburton, and the Hulsean Lectures; but not by miserable shreds and patches detached and scraped together from lucubrations committed hastily to the press by some inconsiderate individual.

If fair samples and exemplars be taken, whether of life or doctrine, the High Church party, we are confident, has nothing to fear. They would sedulously perform their part as Ministers of the Church of England; but they would perform it decently,

and in order, and with an undeviating deference to canonical regulations: they would not act from a spirit of personal intolerance and haughtiness, but they know the evils, which must be caused, and the discords, which must ultimately be fomented and increased, by attempting to fraternize with the Dissenters; they are impressed with the imperative necessity of both public and private devotion; but their prudence as well as their piety, and their piety as well as their prudence, makes them careful how they turn drawing-rooms into private chapels, or expound to an unprepared audience at an unseasonable time and place; they do not belong to the tea-tray school, and therefore are not particularly ambitious to be rewarded for their services by the ladies of their congregation with a silver coffee-pot, or a new set of robes:—they rather entertain a conviction that the power and utility of a Clergyman must eventually be destroyed, unless he carefully upholds the authority and the dignity of his office. They may bear upon their brows some marks of exclusiveness; but it is because they feel the Church, and the Church alone, to be the best depository and standard of sound principles. Their first object is the salvation of souls; but they believe the accomplishment of that object materially to depend upon an efficient body of recognized Ministers acting in concert under the same rules. They are content to be reckoned among the “graceless zealots” who “fight for modes of faith;” because they know that faith, and holiness, and charity, are all linked together by the strongest, yet most delicate sympathies; and that if the integrity of Christian faith decays and dies, Christian charity will first weep at its obsequies, and then be buried in the same grave.

But we stop. Our object is to speak in candid justification of one party, and not to say a single word, which can be construed into an attack upon the other. While the general conduct of the Clergy is so excellent, we would abstain, on all accounts, from making any invidious contrasts; nor do we think that the private habits of individual Ministers are the points, which can determine the question; unless it can be shown that one class of tenets naturally and invariably leads to one class of habits, and another class of tenets to its opposite.

Alas, we know well the frailties, the weaknesses, the miserable lapses into sloth and error, which belong not to High Church men, or Low Church men, but to the feebleness and corruption of our common humanity. Moreover, there may have been men—and some very few, as we have hinted, there may yet be—who pretend to range themselves under the banners of the High Church party; but who include *all*, who dislike their principles, and put their manners to shame, under some common nickname of

ridicule and abuse. In reality, therefore, the strict and regular High Church man is just as much the object of their contumely, as the devout and serious Christian, who embraces any other peculiarities of doctrine. At any rate, let them be told, that the High Church party does not want them; that it does not recognize them; that it has no disposition to have its own soundness impaired by the contact of any thing so rotten and so worthless. It sees weakness in their assistance, and contamination in their support. It abjures them as confederates; it renounces them as allies. It indignantly refuses to be mixed up with their practices or their opinions. While, therefore, we allow, that life is in some measure a test of doctrine, such persons, it must always be remembered, are only insulated individuals. They constitute no feature, they affix no character, they form no integral part in any section of the Church. Their number is dwindling to nothing; and of influence they cannot boast an atom.

Let it also be recollected, that, in defending the distinctive shades of High Church doctrine, we are not obliged to defend the language and the practice of persons, whom we should refuse to recognize as High Church men. We have positively nothing to do with them. It is almost universal with men, who have no creed and no religion at all, to profess themselves of that creed and that religion, which is dominant and fashionable; and, therefore, there will always appear a larger proportion of careless, or irreverent, or reprobate members attached to the faith and party of the majority of a land. Hence there is often the semblance, rather than the reality, of a higher and purer tone of devotion among the body of Dissenters, than among the body of Churchmen. Hence, again, in Catholic countries, the Protestant minority will seem more pious than the Catholic majority, while, in Protestant countries, the picture will be reversed. In England, for example, no class of men can perhaps be pointed out, so sedulous in the performance of their duties, so strict and exemplary and self-denying in their lives, as the Roman Catholic Priests. And Mr. Hamilton, in his remarks upon men and manners in some parts of America, draws a striking comparison between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Ministers, altogether in praise of the former, and to the disadvantage of the latter. But shall we, then, allow that the creed of Popery is more spiritual, or more true, than the creed of Protestantism, because accidental circumstances produce a particular result? or, if we took back Popery to our arms, and made it again the dominant religion, would not an immediate alteration in the relative aspect of the zeal of the two parties, *as parties*, be the consequence? Every minority is active, and earnest, and enterprising, simply

because it is the minority; but there is not the same stimulus on the other side, which is satisfied with what it possesses, rather than excited by what it hopes to obtain.

Such considerations, then, cannot, we re-assert, decide any question, which is at issue between the different sections of the Church.

It seems impossible, in fact, to enter upon the infinite shades and ramifications of opinion as to the minute proprieties of moral conduct. These points depend upon the countless modifications of individual character and circumstances; and, even if they be not so fine and subtle as to elude argument, they are yet too unsubstantial to form the component elements of a sect. The differences, where they do exist, which split party from party in religion, must be differences as to Church doctrine or Church discipline. But as to doctrine and discipline, we, who adhere to the Articles of the Church of England, and that interpretation of the Articles which has been usually deemed orthodox, stand, we must hold and assert, not in an aggressive, but in an attacked position. There are some who would have the articles remodelled. Of them we would ask, in what way and to what extent? There are others, who would prefer another interpretation of the articles. Of them, again, we ask, what is the rent which this diversity of interpretation is likely to make? They who desire changes owe a definite explanation to those who dread them. Every movement party may fairly be asked the length and the breadth of the required or intended movement. If others want something, and we nothing, we may legitimately put the very simple question, "*what do you want?*" They are the petitioners; and every petitioner ought to be prepared to state the full measure of his demands.

It is an undeniable fact, that differences are supposed to exist in the Established Church, and that the seceders from the Church are on the watch to take advantage of their existence. It is also evident, as we have observed in a former article, that there is a disposition to classify British Christians, not into Churchmen and Dissenters, but into Evangelical and Non-Evangelical believers. We are clearly of opinion, that Church-membership ought to be the line and the test; but we apprehend that some divines as well as laymen in the Church, have recognised and approved the classification just mentioned. These things are, at least, novelties. We would call upon them, therefore, kindly, we hope, and charitably, but most earnestly and most anxiously, to express without equivocation or disguise, their opinions upon a point, which, under the semblance of Christian union, may introduce the widest and most mischievous schism which has ever exerted

its unhappy influence in the land. If they seek only the restoration of a former faith, and think that the majority of the English clergy have apostatized from the tenets of the Reformation, let them, in God's name, trace the nature and extent of that apostasy. If they would bring forward new principles, and engraft improvements upon the Reformation, let the character and amount of these new and improved principles be declared, together with the reasons on which they are founded. We are the old party, and the defensive party; our opinions are known, and attacked because they are known. But it is high time that some definite causes of opposition should be stated, instead of general insinuations and vague surmises. Oh, let us at least have objections which we can honestly meet, and antagonists with whom we can fairly grapple.

We emphatically repeat—for it is a matter of the last consequence to our argument—that we conceive ourselves to belong to *that* which is the old party, and now the defensive party, and the party, as we sincerely believe, attached to those genuine doctrines of the Reformation, which at different periods may have been preached with more or less of efficacy; or adorned more or less by the lives of those who have professed them; but which, as far as we know, have never been abandoned. We make no pretence to the reception of new lights; we do not expatiate upon the revival of religion, or talk of completing the Reformation by carrying it forward to an ulterior and higher point. If any men entertain such views, with those men we differ. But we are not the occasion of any schism; the differences only exist in the extent to which other parties have created them.

And yet it is very probable, that, in the vast majority of cases, a few brief sentences of frank and decisive explanation would *remove* the difference, by showing it to be imaginary, or verbal, or the result of a mutual misapprehension; or by proving that the disagreements existed only to that slight amount upon minuter subjects, to which they must always exist, until there is an exact conformity in the construction of various minds; and until the rays of intellectual light fall upon them all at precisely the same angle. Then, as to the Revivalists, we would ask them distinctly to announce, in what sense, and with what latitude, they use the phrase “revival of religion,” of which we hear so much? If they mean by it merely a greater vitality and earnestness in religion, a fresh vigour of faith and liveliness of devotion, a larger measure of charity, an increased degree of personal exertion and personal holiness, then we can have no quarrel with them, except for the ambiguity of their language. We rejoice at such a revival of religion, wherever it occurs; and we honour the human instruments, who, under the blessing of God, produce it. But

if men can call themselves Revivalists, under the impression that they are a species of spiritual resurrectionists, whose business is to dig up out of their graves tenets which have been buried in the slumber of death, then we must say, that we see no necessity for the resuscitation or revivification of evangelical tenets; for we know of no evangelical tenets which have, since the Reformation, been defunct. In a word, we hail, with the utmost gratification, the diffusion and growth of Christian piety; but we stand upon our guard; and feelings, we acknowledge, of suspicion and apprehension, come across us, when we hear of a *revival* of Christian *doctrine*. We think the character of our doctrines to be of an importance, which far transcends every other consideration, and we wish to maintain our doctrines as they *are*.

Upon this subject we would say one word more in entire frankness. We hear a great deal about the value of an Established Church, as being an establishment; about the necessity of its maintenance and the ruin of its subversion. To these statements we cordially assent. We can discern the folly, and the mischief, and the injustice, of cutting away one half of the institution, and dreaming that the other will survive it; of shattering a machinery which has worked, and is working throughout the land, a vast aggregate of multifarious benefits; of laying prostrate a system which is connected with all the monuments of our history and the ancient habits of our people; and which, while it is of national establishment, is also for the most part of private endowment. But still the best *measure* of the value of an establishment must be the value of the doctrines to which it is attached, and which it serves, perhaps, to enshrine and embalm. As the existence of the establishment communicates to the doctrines an augmentation of authority and an increased power of diffusion, so the doctrines alone, in an age of intelligence and intellectual activity, can uphold and consecrate the establishment. We hope and trust that both may be saved; we would struggle to save both at every hazard and at every sacrifice; but let it be distinctly understood, that it is for the sake of the doctrines that we would adhere to the establishment, and not for the sake of the establishment that we would guard the doctrines. We would keep the casket for the jewel which it contains, rather than the jewel for the casket that encloses it. These two, positions, then we would lay down: First, the purity, the reasonableness, the scriptural spirituality of the doctrines, can alone, in times like these, be, under Providence, the strength and stay of an Established Church; for without this cardinal pre-eminence, neither could the establishment be preserved, nor would it be worth preservation. Secondly, even if the case were otherwise, and the alternative were

offered, there is no rational and pious Christian, who would not infinitely prefer that the doctrines should be preserved *without* the establishment, than that the establishment should be preserved without the doctrines. Not for one hour, not for one moment, should we hesitate. The inference on both grounds is, that no tampering with the Articles can ever be allowed; no amalgamation or compromise with the Dissenters for the attainment—of what, shall we say? of peace, and amity, and agreement? no, but of a brief, and shameful, and fatal truce; not merely, in short, no recognition of a principle such as Dr. Arnold's, which, under the pretence of widening the foundations of an establishment, would strike away one main use of an establishment, as a landmark and safeguard of sound doctrine; but no sanction or admission of extravagances and innovations, however popular they may happen to be within the Church itself; no departure from the sacred tenets and discipline of our fathers in the faith.

Is it wonderful, then, if our patience ebbs within us, when we see many among the best and wisest men in the kingdom represented by others, altogether their inferiors in education and mental powers, as little better than nominal or half-formed Christians, mere infants in religion, who can never hope to attain the perfect stature of faith and grace? What? do we not find amongst these men as profound, and humble, and trembling a sense of the weakness and insufficiency and corruption of human nature, and the consequent want of a thorough change and regeneration of character, through the help of an agency mightier than our own; as entire a conviction, as just an appreciation of the Divinity of the Lord Jesus, of the necessity and value of the Atonement by His death, of the need of faith in order to justification, and of the aids and influences of the Spirit, in order to sanctification, of the incompetency of mere intellect, the mere faculty of drawing logical inferences to “make man wise unto salvation,” without the holier energy of moral tastes and dispositions, as among the wildest and most hot-headed enthusiasts, who would decry the orthodox pastors of the Church as nothing more than ethical teachers, fond of enlarging on the dignity of man's being, and the merit of man's works; and prone to reject or explain away the peculiar and characteristic mysteries of the Gospel? In their exhibition of the Christian Faith, *what* doctrine, we would confidently ask, is merged or forgotten? *What* tenet is cut down into a meagre nullity? *What* peculiarity is dilated into a disproportioned importance? *What* part of religion is suffered to eclipse and over-power, to absorb and swallow all the rest? Where is the shadow of a slur cast upon any one of the marvels of our redemption? They may pause, indeed, before they so strip man of his moral capacities as to strip

him also of his moral responsibility; they may pause before they admit doctrines which would revive in the Christian Church the darkest and most appalling fatalism of the ancient necessitarians; they may discern unspeakable danger in making religion only a thing of impulse, or feeling, or sudden or intuitive belief; they may claim for reason her legitimate province in matters of faith, and for the noblest endowments of the understanding an ample exercise; they may insist upon the use of varied and extensive knowledge; but all these things they would nevertheless subordinate to holiness and purity of heart; and they can deem the meekness, and simplicity, and docility of a child, as more indispensable than the most practised skill and erudition of a philosopher.

Do these assertions require proof? The evidence is overwhelming. The rank which England holds among Christian nations is our witness. The theological literature of the country is our witness. The whole host of illustrious writers nurtured in the bosom of that Church which they lived to exalt, men who have been the very beacons and bulwarks of genuine Christianity, are our witnesses. The very volumes now before us are our witnesses.

That sound and sterling religion which has been our boast and blessing as a community, and which we devoutly trust has made the temporal and eternal happiness of millions of individuals, we mainly owe to the orthodox divines of the Church of England; and the preservation among us of that sound and sterling religion we shall, under that same Providence, owe mainly to their successors; and the benefits of maintaining the soundness and orthodoxy of the English Church, must stretch far beyond the shores of our own country, and extend far beyond the limits of the present time.

On the one hand, if we look to the history of the past, we see only an accumulated debt of gratitude, which the whole of Christendom owes to the illustrious defenders of our English Protestantism. We need not refer to the days of Wiclif or Crammer, but we would point to the series of theologians who arose, as lights in the world, from the period of the Reformation to the middle of the last century; theologians, who have not only asserted and maintained a pure and scriptural religion in the eastern hemisphere, but sown its seeds in the western, and planted its standard, and set up its landmarks, (still useful because still partially observed), and spread a heavenly illumination, which, even if its sun be anywhere gone down, must ever preserve a brightness and a beauty even in its twilight. Again, when, in the eighteenth century, an unhallowed philosophy, which had enlisted in its ranks the most shining, if not the most solid, talents of the world, made its com-

bined and systematic attack upon Christianity with the weapons now of reason, now of ridicule, here of a pretended erudition, there of a sarcastic levity; and when the belief of many nations had succumbed and fallen before it, who were the men who rushed forward to stem the tide of ungodliness and beat it back from our coasts? Were they Dissenters? No. Were they any others than our orthodox divines? Once more we say, for the most part, no. The champions of Christianity were men like Horsley and the rest, who stood almost by the side of Burke with intellects almost as gigantic; and, as he saved us from infidelity by keeping off anarchy, so they saved us from anarchy by keeping off infidelity. Oh, who can survey with a steady glance the portentous peril of those times, and not be sure, that if God had permitted that attack for an awful season to be successful, and religion had been overthrown in England, it would have been overthrown with a more appalling, perhaps an irrecoverable, ruin upon the continent; and all Europe, in her agony of spirit, would have had double cause to exclaim, "Ichabod, the glory is departed, for the Ark of the Lord is taken?"

Shall the lesson be lost? Have not these times their portents also? When we think of the corruptions and superstitions of Catholic states, with that hateful offspring of unbelief, which they infallibly engender; when we think of the neology, the rationalism, the unchristianized Christianity too prevalent in Germany; when we think of the unspiritual theology of Geneva, and the rapid strides which Unitarianism is making among our brethren beyond the Atlantic, to what secondary agency can we turn, under Providence, but to the same orthodox establishment which has already preserved us? What other barrier can we find, on the one side, against a rampant or mystical extravagance; on the other, against that cold distortion of the Gospel, which seems, by a lamentable dexterity, to encumber itself with the difficulties both of Christianity and of Deism, without being able to rest upon the divine authority of the one, or take advantage of the human freedom of the other; and which would convert the rich and flowing rivers of Salvation into the stagnant, and sullen, and pestiferous, waters of the Dead Sea? Our hearts would sink within us, and our imaginations would be overshadowed by a thousand presages of darkness and disaster, if the old orthodoxy of the Church of England were now decried and abandoned. Upon no instrumentality of earth can we depend, but upon a sound, regular, well-organized divinity; upon minds, disciplined by study and education, and armed at all points from the arsenals of theological research, as well as tempered by the spirit of the Gospel of Christ. Can religious feelings and reli-

religious aspirations suffice?—religious feelings however warm, religious aspirations however exalted? Learning only can cope with learned adversaries, learning massive, extensive and profound; historical, and philological, and scientific arguments can only be met by a competent acquaintance with history, and philology, and science; and the perversions of reason can only be exposed, not by the disparagement of reason, but by its legitimate and highest use. Our Church has hitherto maintained a spiritual sobriety and a godly moderation. May she maintain them for ever! If they are exchanged for a flighty, and fantastic, and mystic creed, and if religious sentiment is not directed by religious knowledge, then will the miserable process go on, by which extremes will create extremes, and monstrous errors will generate prodigies of error still more monstrous, and extravagances will be arrayed against extravagances, and society will be divided into the two baneful sections of scornful infidelity, and half-crazy enthusiasts; or Socinianism and fanaticism will portion out the land between them; and then not only must we say farewell to the lustre of the Church of England, but the light of Christendom will be extinguished, and the fairest hopes of humanity will for a season be lost.

We may not persuade others, but we have delivered our own soul. Knowing how mixed and how imperfect is every thing in man, and how weak is human judgment, and how the bad feelings of our nature intertwine themselves about the good; and how hidden and uncalculated is oftentimes the sway of early prejudices, and the associations of habit and education, we offer these remarks, after all, as the opinions which may very possibly be warped by the action of many circumstances, of which we have not sufficiently computed the tendency and the strength. At the same time, however, we record them as the deliberate and conscientious convictions which we not only entertain, but which we deem it necessary to put forth, at a period the most eventful, perhaps, and the most critical that has ever occurred to the established religion of the country.

ART. VII.—*The Connexion of the Physical Sciences.* By Mrs. Somerville. London: Murray. 1834.

It *may* be true, that in many departments of our literature, the contributions of this age are decidedly inferior to those of previous ones. Our minds *may* not now be fertilized by fresh

“ seeds of thought,” such as Bacon scattered. Our style *may* be full of epigrammatic prettinesses, but destitute of the fire and the vehemence of Jeremy Taylor. Milton *may* be unapproached, either in poesy or in prose. We *may* have falsely fancied, that our compressed octavos contain the essence, the elixir, of the older tomes. Our mental scenery *may* have the choicest flowers and aroma of the primitive settlers, but have lost all the magnificent proportion and wild beauty of their land. This, we say, *may* possibly be true:—our judgments, not the old prejudice of decrying the present, may have drawn this estimate. And yet we do contend that our literature has more than a redeeming quality. Our advance in Science more than brings us on a level. Herschel and Davy, &c. more than vindicate our claims to even profound originality. Perhaps, we furnish fewer discoveries of the moral relations of the human mind,—but unquestionably we know more of human nature.

Now believing, as we do, that our advance in physical science is the characteristic glory of this age;—and that the strength of intellect—the analytical invention—the patient research—which its pursuit calls forth—are painfully contrasted with the commonness of the productions of other fields of literature; we think it would be an useful inquiry, Whence is it, this age excels in one department, but fails in most of the rest? Is it because the cultivation of that order of thought necessary for success in one, unavoidably leads to neglect of the others? Is there such an opposition between those powers of mind demanded by the *exact* sciences, and those demanded by the more *excursive*, that they cannot co-exist, cannot severally be vigorous? Is it impossible to be a mathematician and a poet? or to live amid the certainties of algebraical calculations and formulæ, and likewise in the more undefined and changing abstractions of metaphysics? Must we consent to be dwarfs in the one, if we would be giants in the other? Is there a great gulph fixed, and is it impassable?

It requires no elaborate argument to prove, that no studies induce such severe habits of consecutive thought, such love of patient but certain induction, such openness to the evidence of truth, as those of physical science, where mathematics are the leading instruments of investigation. And never have there gone forth before, so many minds whose earliest mental susceptibilities were disciplined by their attainment. Now, that these qualities of mind are of the gravest importance in the more excursive applications of thought must be most evident; and yet, have they shown themselves therein? Is it a mere declamatory question,—whether Truth, in all its branches moral and religious, has derived the benefit which might have been expected from the pre-eminence

now given in our course of education to the Physical Department?

We think that, without unamiably arrogating to ourselves superior wisdom, we can affirm that these studies have not yet produced their *best*—their *legitimate* results. They have, indeed, contributed much, and rapidly, to one species of our knowledge. The objects which they directly contemplate, both in their amplitude and their minuteness, have been brought before us,—and cold and rigid reason has apprehended them. But reason has monopolized. The emotions of the imagination have been kept at bay; just as if the temple of God's creation had only the magnitudes of sublimity, in order to be scaled by numerical calculations; or the harmonies of minute fitness, for the doctrine of proportionals: as if the moment the mind burst beyond the limits of accuracy, and indulged in indefinite wonder and admiration, its movements were sure to be erratic.

Some of our readers will probably smile at this language—will condemn it as the murmurings of some fretted student, who, in disgust, throws aside the abstruse Principia, and revels in the creations of Walter Scott. But allow it to be so. Is it therefore instantly to be repudiated? Have not the faculties of reason and imagination been too uncompromisingly divorced, in the pursuits which we are at present considering? We think they have. There has been an uniform, an unnatural disdain of the latter. As yet the doctrines and proofs of astronomy, or of optics, have been submitted as if only for dissection; as if no spirit, no life animated them, with which our sensibilities could sympathize.

Let it not be thought that we would for one moment strive to *popularize* the sciences, by relieving the student from the necessity of the most rigid application. We would not deduct one single problem:—but if they claim our notice at all upon the ground of the *qualities* as well as the relations of the objects of their research, why are these qualities merely to be hinted at? Are they to have no enthusiasts as their admirers, and would the impulse of delight in them be an impediment to inquiry?

We confidently believe, that, if the connexion between the Moral and Physical Sciences was more regarded, the pursuit of the latter especially would be far more beneficial than it has been. Man, as an impassioned being, is not unfit for their cultivation. He would be, if he were only *passion*. But it is possible (and such is the perfection of a mind) that judgment and feeling, thought and emotion, should co-exist, and be so kept in equilibrium that neither should be injured by its companion; and we long to see this more generally manifested in our Natural Philosophers.

What objects of sublimity and beauty are associated with their studies! This world has its poets;—its fields and its streams, its mountains and its torrents, its tempests and its zephyrs furnish them with the *materiel* for their creations; and the mind may be awed or soothed by the phantasy: still it is but a phantasy. There is, however, a higher, a more intense order of poesy. It is that of Physical Philosophy. She gathers her forms, not from a world, but an universe, and has this advantage, that, before her conceptions can be indulged, there must be vigorous and prolonged thought. This will not by too much luxury enervate the mind.

We need but glance at some of those conceptions:—for instance, the power of attraction, wielding an atom as well as a world, a world as well as a system; regulating the shape of every globule, as well as the rotundity of every planet: the breath, the life, the soul which the Almighty Parent has infused into his creation: withdraw it,—and the universe would become a corpse. And has this no sublimity, the inspiration of which the abstrusest calculator may not feel?

We turn to the theories of light; if we believe it to be an actual emanation from an observed object, or to consist in vibrations of an elastic fluid, or ether filling space—then as to its velocity, and the boundless ocean which it opens up to us, with its innumerable and luminous waves, and its prismatic colours—have these no grandeur, no beauty, which can allure the imagination and at the same time administer strength, by the efforts required before they can be enjoyed?

We have but barely adverted to two orders of phenomena, which first occurred to us, as illustrations of our meaning—that *all* man's faculties can have their appropriate and highest scope, in studies, from which the imagination has been too rudely repulsed. We may incorporate physical with other truths; they have all affinities with each other.

Somewhat similar remarks might be made upon the connexion between them and *Religion*. We complain that although, in most scientific treatises, we are told of the illustrations of the Divine power, and benevolence, and wisdom, which are provided in the discoveries of philosophy, such a glorious recommendation is but barely suggested. Perhaps one paragraph in the Introductory Chapter announces it, and it is then forgotten. This, we contend, is painfully reprehensible: for if science does contribute to our knowledge of these, the sublimest objects of contemplation,—this should be her supreme boast: as her chief aim, this should invariably be foremost: her disciples should feel themselves to be, in a subordinate sense, the ministers of God, striving to reveal to others the laws of the Eternal Mind, and exulting in their success just in proportion as they obtained it.

If we remove the idea of an All-pervading Intelligence from the Creation, we deduct from it its truest magnificence. It is the thought that a *mind* is thereby putting forth its mighty resolves, which gives to the universe a meaning. A fortuitous order and harmony would produce an impression such as might follow the correct music of an idiot. We feel, therefore, that science dissociated from religion, is comparatively tasteless and insipid. In union with it, it is itself ennobled. Why then is the connexion between them so unfrequently exemplified? Is it unscientific, after having calculated the centripetal and centrifugal forces which affect our system, to stop and adore a Being, thus proved to be One whom no extent of effort can bewilder or fatigue, whom no minute operations can so concentrate in his notice, as to divert him from other divisions of his providence? Or is it unsuitable to the gravity and abstraction requisite in investigating the properties of light, meanwhile to have the heart impressed with what must be the splendors of the immediate home of that Divinity, who so illimitably scatters amongst us the beauties which are involved in every ray? We are sure it is not unsuitable. Such thoughts inspired Bacon, and Newton, when enrapt in wonder at the new conceptions that burst upon them. They felt as if favoured with a nearer approach to the beatific vision of the Almighty.

And we are equally persuaded likewise, that science has a connexion with *revealed* Religion. Our present purpose, and the character of several papers in our last number, prevent us from inquiring, whether that connexion be one of confirmatory evidence or simply illustrative? Most of our readers will allow that it does furnish us with comparisons and analogies. Still this subject is never unfolded in those works which we are now in the general considering. The discoveries of philosophy throw a light, we conceive, upon many of the mysteries of the Divine Word. Do we feel it difficult to admit the doctrine of a particular Providence, that the very hairs of our head are all numbered,—that a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without God's permission?—The uniformity of design,—the unbroken chain of physical adaptations, from the highest link to the lowest, which science has unveiled, teaches us that the contrary doctrine would be an absurdity. And so even in regard to the holiest and most soul-humbling fact of the Gospel, the divinity of the Atonement:—when sceptically disposed to inquire,—where is the moral congruity in the Creator's affixing such a value to but one “dim speck” in his Universe, as to interpose for it with his own Son?—*then*, we say, even science can afford her aid, can teach us, that worlds without number and filled by responsible agents, may most probably have been taught by it a lesson: unto other orders, unto angels, and principalities,

and powers, the Church may have made known the manifold wisdom of God.

We feel that we have been led into too wide a discussion of this topic. It arises, however, from the intense interest we feel in it. The dawn of physical science was the dawn of an intellectual reformation, nearly coincident in time with the religious one. And we are most strongly imbued with the conviction, that as a discipline to the mind, as furnishing it with the highest and most blessed contemplations at once beneficial to the imagination and the heart,—it should be the prominent study; but its connexion with moral and religious truth must never be forgotten.

Before any particular inquiry upon the merits of the work which is introduced at the head of this article, let us ascertain how far our previous remarks apply to it. We extract almost the *only* allusion to the connexion between science and our moral and religious feelings, which we can find in Mrs. Somerville's treatise.

“Science, regarded as the pursuit of truth, which can only be attained by patient and unprejudiced investigation, wherein nothing is too great to be attempted, nothing so minute as to be justly disregarded, must ever afford occupation of consummate interest and subject of elevated meditation. The contemplation of the works of creation elevates the mind to the admiration of whatever is great and noble; accomplishing the object of all study,—which, in the elegant language of Sir James Mackintosh, ‘is to inspire the love of truth, of wisdom, of beauty, especially of goodness, the highest beauty, and of that supreme and eternal Mind, which contains all truth and wisdom, all beauty and goodness. By the love or delightful contemplation and pursuit of these transcendent aims, for their own sake only, the mind of man is raised from low and perishable objects, and prepared for those high destinies which are appointed for all those who are capable of them.’

“The heavens afford the most sublime subject of study which can be derived from science. The magnitude and splendour of the objects, the inconceivable rapidity with which they move, and the enormous distances between them, impress the mind with some notion of the energy that maintains them in their motions with a durability to which we can see no limit. Equally conspicuous is the goodness of the great First Cause, in having endowed man with faculties by which he can not only appreciate the magnificence of His works, but trace, with precision, the operation of his laws; use the globe he inhabits as a base wherewith to measure the magnitude and distance of the sun and planets, and make the diameter of the earth's orbit the first step of a scale by which he may ascend to the starry firmament. Such pursuits, while they ennoble the mind, at the same time inculcate humility, by showing that there is a barrier which no energy, mental or physical, can ever enable us to pass: that however profoundly we may penetrate the depths of space, there still remain innumerable systems, compared with which those apparently so vast must

dwindle into insignificance, or even become invisible; and that not only man, but the globe he inhabits,—nay, the whole system of which it forms so small a part,—might be annihilated, and its extinction be unperceived in the immensity of creation.”—p. 2—4.

The following beautiful passages occur in Sir John Herschel’s first chapter of his *Introductory Discourse*; which we cannot forbear to quote, since they breathe so much of the spirit we have been attempting to inculcate:—

“Independent of the pleasures of fancy and imagination, and social converse, man is constituted a speculative being; he contemplates the world, and the objects around him, not with a passive, indifferent gaze, as a set of phenomena in which he has no further interest than as they affect his immediate situation, and can be rendered subservient to his comfort, but as a system disposed with order and design. He approves and feels the highest admiration for the harmony of its parts, the skill and efficiency of its contrivances. Some of these which he can best trace and understand he attempts to imitate, and finds that to a certain extent, though rudely and imperfectly, he can succeed,—in others, that although he can comprehend the nature of the contrivance, he is totally destitute of all means of imitation;—while in others, again, and those evidently the most important, though he sees the effect produced, yet the means by which it is done are alike beyond his knowledge and his control. Thus he is led to the conception of a Power and an Intelligence superior to his own, and adequate to the production and maintenance of all that he sees in nature,—a Power and Intelligence to which he may well apply the term infinite, since he not only sees no actual limit to the instances in which they are manifested, but finds, on the contrary, that the farther he inquires, and the wider his sphere of observation extends, they continually open upon him in increasing abundance; and that as the study of one prepares him to understand and appreciate another, refinement follows on refinement, wonder on wonder, till his faculties become bewildered in admiration, and his intellect falls back on itself in utter hopelessness of arriving at an end.”—p. 4.

And again:—

“Nothing, then, can be more unfounded than the objection which has been taken, *in limine*, by persons, well meaning perhaps, certainly narrow-minded, against the study of natural philosophy, and indeed against all science,—that it fosters in its cultivators an undue and overweening self-conceit, leads them to doubt the immortality of the soul, and to scoff at revealed religion. Its natural effect, we may confidently assert, on every well constituted mind is and must be the direct contrary. No doubt, the testimony of natural reason, on whatever exercised, must of necessity stop short of those truths which it is the object of revelation to make known; but, while it places the existence and principal attributes of a Deity on such grounds as to render doubt absurd and atheism ridiculous, it unquestionably opposes no natural or necessary obstacle to further progress: on the contrary, by cherishing as a vital principle an unbounded spirit of inquiry, and ardency of expectation, it unfetters the mind

from prejudices of every kind, and leaves it open and free to every impression of a higher nature which it is susceptible of receiving, guarding only against enthusiasm and self-deception by a habit of strict investigation, but encouraging rather than suppressing, every thing that can offer a prospect or a hope beyond the present obscure and unsatisfactory state."—p. 7, 8.

A great portion of Mr. Whewell's valuable and interesting work, which we reviewed in a previous Number, is occupied upon the religious views that are suggested by physical science.

We are happy to find that he fully agrees with the sentiments which introduce this article, and that he supports us in our opinion relative to the lack of religious thought in our philosophical treatises. The extracts, however, which we have given from Mrs. Somerville and Sir John Herschel must be sufficient. Now, surely, if these great objects distinguish natural philosophy, her professors are bound to strive to promote them: not by a few, very few, casual remarks in their treatises, as if to propitiate the favour of a religious reader; but by reiterated and glowing allusions. Why should not our scientific works be *impregnated* with such sentiments? They would not unseasonably divert the attention; rather by keeping the same topics before the mind, and yet varying the aspect in which they are contemplated, would they appropriately recommend, illustrate, and even dignify them.

But to dismiss this train of observation, and specially consider the work before us.—We can conscientiously agree with other periodicals, in according to Mrs. Somerville the highest praise for profound philosophical research in her treatise. It bears the stamp of genuineness. She has evidently worked out the formulæ, and by experimental observation confirmed the theories for herself. This book is not the compilation of one who has merely read other volumes, and with the parade of abstruse science, plagiarised from each of them. We rose from its perusal with the conviction, that in this department she must be the first woman of her age. Yet we question if it is not very inferior to her previous volume on the Mechanism of the Heavens. As purporting familiarly to unfold the connexion of the physical sciences, it has disappointed us. If obviousness of method be necessary to lucidness, then certainly this work has but few claims to it. Whilst reading it, we were repeatedly looking for some chapter of contents, (which, strange to say, there is not,) by which, as from some map of roads, we might detect our locality: and the attention thus became divided between the immediate chapter and its dependance on its predecessors.

Inasmuch as the physical sciences occupy distinct departments for investigating the laws which regulate a creation that may be

said to be their *common* property,—it is clear there must be a very essential connexion between them. Astronomy, for instance, would be imperfect, if it were not enriched with the contributions of the science of optics : and so the science of optics is under similar obligations to astronomy. The laws of light guide us in our calculations upon the place and movement of the heavenly bodies, and they in return illustrate and unfold to us its velocity. Before we can fully understand the laws which govern the water that refreshes us, we must know those which regulate the atmosphere we inhale. The oblivion of any one of the physical sciences would most seriously injure all the rest. They are the sisterhood of the muses : the withdrawal of one would induce general discordance.

It is Mrs. Somerville's object fully to establish this doctrine. As far as we can gather, (for in truth she has made no definite announcement of it,) the fact that the law of gravitation is common to *all* the sciences, is the principle of their connexion. The following paragraph—the last in the volume—may be viewed as a recapitulation of her previous argument :—

“ It thus appears that the theory of dynamics, founded upon terrestrial phenomena, is indispensable for acquiring a knowledge of the revolutions of the celestial bodies and their reciprocal influences. The motions of the satellites are affected by the forms of their primaries, and the figures of the planets themselves depend upon their rotations. The symmetry of their internal structure proves the stability of these rotatory motions, and the immutability of the length of the day, which furnishes an invariable standard of time ; and the actual size of the terrestrial spheroid affords the means of ascertaining the dimensions of the solar system, and provides an invariable foundation for a system of weights and measures. The mutual attraction of the celestial bodies disturbs the fluids at their surfaces, whence the theory of the tides and the oscillations of the atmosphere. The density and elasticity of the air, varying with every alternation of temperature, lead to the consideration of barometrical changes, the measurement of heights, and capillary attraction ; and the doctrine of sound, including the theory of music, is to be referred to the small undulations of the ærial medium. A knowledge of the action of matter upon light is requisite for tracing the curved path of its rays through the atmosphere, by which the true places of distant objects are determined, whether in the heavens or on the earth. By this we learn the nature and properties of the sunbeam, the mode of its propagation through the ætherial fluid, or in the interior of material bodies, and the origin of colour. By the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, the velocity of light is ascertained, and that velocity, in the aberration of the fixed stars, furnishes the only direct proof of the real motion of the earth. The effects of the invisible rays of light are immediately connected with chemical action ; and heat, forming a part of the solar ray, so essential to animated and inanimated existence, whether considered as invisible light or as a distinct quality, is too

important an agent in the economy of creation not to hold a principal place in the order of physical science. Whence follows its distribution over the surface of the globe, its power on the geological convulsions of our planet, its influence on the atmosphere and on climate, and its effects on vegetable and animal life, evinced in the localities of organized beings on the earth, in the waters, and in the air. The connexion of heat with electrical phenomena, and the electricity of the atmosphere, together with all its energetic effects, its identity with magnetism and the phenomena of terrestrial polarity, can only be understood from the theories of these invisible agents, and are probably principal causes of chemical affinities. Innumerable instances might be given in illustration of the immediate connexion of the physical sciences, most of which are united still more closely by the common bond of analysis which is daily extending its empire, and will ultimately embrace almost every subject in nature in its formulæ.

"These formulæ, emblematic of Omniscience, condense into a few symbols the immutable laws of the universe. This mighty instrument of human power itself originates in the primitive constitution of the human mind, and rests upon a few fundamental axioms which have eternally existed in Him who implanted them in the breast of man when He created him after His own image."—pp. 411—414.

In separately considering these subjects, Mrs. Somerville has advanced the latest improvements and discoveries. We think her chapters upon the identity of electricity and magnetism particularly interesting. Yet we cannot with perfect honesty recommend the volume. As a book of reference to the most lately ascertained conclusions it may be useful; but certainly to the beginner in science it would be perfectly unintelligible, and as a digest for one more advanced it is incomplete.

ART. VIII.—*Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*. Edited from the Right Reverend Robert Forbes, A.M., Bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church, by Robert Chambers, Author of "Traditions of Edinburgh," &c. London: Longman and Co. Edinburgh: Chambers. 1834.

THE history of this book is extremely interesting, and realizes many of those fictions which have been devised by ingenious men for drawing attention to works otherwise not likely to attract notice. Bishop Forbes, one of the Episcopal clergymen at Leith, was, with the greater number of his brethren, warmly attached to the interests of the house of Stuart; and, accordingly, when Prince Charles Edward, in September, 1745, descended from the Highlands, he joined a small party of friends, who advanced to the neighbourhood of Stirling, in order to pay their respects to the representative of him whom they were still inclined to honour as their sovereign. Mr. Forbes and four of his companions were

apprehended by the civil power and thrown into prison, where they were detained until after the suppression of the unfortunate rising accomplished by the victory gained at Culloden.*

This accident, which the zealous presbyter deeply bewailed as the means of preventing him from kissing the hand of the regent, saved him from the severer penalties which were inflicted upon those who were actually engaged in the insurrection; and hence it appears that, when tranquillity was restored, the conscientious jacobite returned into the bosom of his charge at Leith, to mourn over the disappointment of his hopes and the loss of many friends, as well as to record their exploits and vindicate their characters. He steadily prosecuted his design of collecting, from the mouths and pens of the survivors of the late enterprise, such narratives and anecdotes as they could give from their own knowledge respecting that extraordinary incident. His papers, we are told, whether contributed in writing, or taken by himself from oral communication, he regularly transcribed upon octavo sheets, which in the end formed volumes; and nothing, it is added, can exceed the neatness, distinctness, and accuracy with which the whole task is performed. He took care, in particular, to see most of the individuals who had been apprehended for their concern in the prince's escape, and carried prisoners to London, an opportunity being generally afforded by their passing through Edinburgh, on their way back to the Highlands.

"The collection, which ultimately filled ten volumes, was bound in black, with black-edged leaves, and styled, in allusion to the woe of Scotland for her exiled race of princes, 'The Lion in Mourning; or, a Collection (as exactly made as the iniquity of the times would permit) of Speeches, Letters, Journals, relative to the Affairs, but more particularly to the Dangers and Distresses of —.' The first three volumes bear the date 1747; the next three, of 1748; the seventh is dated in 1749, the eighth in 1750, the ninth in 1761, and the tenth in 1775. It thus appears that the bulk of the collection was made immediately after the close of the insurrection, when the recollections of the actors must of course have been most fresh; and this part of the collection is fortunately the most important in historical value. The latter volumes, indeed, are chiefly composed of fugitive *jeux d'esprit* upon the Whig party and the government; of letters giving obscure hints respecting the life of Prince Charles on the continent; and of other matters, which, though highly illustrative of the spirit of the jacobites, throw little light on the history of the rebellion. Perhaps the most curious and characteristic part of the work is a series of *relics* which are found attached to the inside of the boards of certain volumes; in one of which I find a

* We have followed the statement supplied by Mr. Chambers; but in a document to which we ourselves have had access, the bishop says, "We were seven in number, taken on the seventh day of the week, the seventh day of the month, and the seventh month of the year, reckoning from March." Two, indeed, were servants.

small slip of thick blue silk cloth, of a texture like sarcenet, beneath which is written, 'The above is a piece of the prince's garter.' Below this is a small square piece of printed linen (the figures being in lilac on a white ground), with the following inscription:—'The above is a piece of that identical gown which the prince wore four or five days, when he was obliged to disguise himself in a female dress, under the name of Betty Burke. A swatch of the said gown was sent from Mrs. Macdonald of Kingsburgh.' Then follows a slip of tape, with the following note of genuine *naïveté*:—'The above is a piece of that *identical apron-string* which the prince wore about him when in the female dress. The above bit I received out of Flora M'Donald's own hands on Thursday, November 5, 1747, when I saw the apron, and *had it about me*. Robert Forbes, A.M.' "

This work, which had occupied or amused the simple but ardent mind of the honest jacobite about thirty years, remained nearly an equal period in the possession of his widow, before it became the property of Sir Henry Stewart of Allanton. Some time after the publication of Mr. Home's "*History of the Rebellion*," which, from the obvious desire of the author to conciliate the favour of the reigning dynasty, we have heard denominated "*Home's Georgics*," Sir Henry, we are told, was induced to turn his attention to the same subject, and actually commenced a work under the title of "*An Historical Review of the different Attempts made to restore the Stuart Family to the Throne, from the Revolution in 1688 to the Suppression of the Rebellion in 1745*." While employed in the pursuit of materials for this undertaking, he was informed that the relict of the late Bishop Forbes, now fallen into poverty, had a manuscript collection which might prove of use to him in the course of his projected narrative. The learned baronet soon made a bargain with the old lady, and found himself master of "*The Lion in Mourning*;" but having, for sundry reasons, relinquished all thoughts of completing his own literary enterprise, the interesting fragments engrossed in the ten volumes were once more permitted to fall into oblivion. The public is indebted for the selection now printed to Mr. Chambers, so advantageously known for his numerous works on Scottish antiquities, who, while on a visit to Sir Henry, in 1832, prompted him to put forth a specimen of the *Jacobite Memoirs*.

The editor tells us that he is prepared to find a surprise approaching to incredulity manifested respecting several of the subjects illustrated in this volume. The humanity displayed, and the regular and honourable payments made on all occasions by the Chevalier, in contrast with the license and barbarity now for the first time fully brought home to the royal army, will hardly fail to disturb some of the prepossessions of the English reader. The extraordinary outrages, the common theft—for it can be called no

less—attributed to the Duke of Cumberland, as well as his singularly brutal inhumanity, will rise so far beyond all preconceived notions, even of one who was in his own time thought worthy of being styled “the Butcher,” that he can hardly hope to see that part of the work received without controversy. He maintains, however, “that so far as the character of the collector can fortify this point, it must be held above cavil. In many parts of his manuscript, Bishop Forbes appears equally disposed to defend the government party, where they are unjustly accused, and to withdraw unfavourable statements, afterwards discovered to be false, as he was to exhibit their authenticated misdeeds.” The modern reader, moreover, must not judge of the military officers under George II. as he would judge of those in the reign of his successors. It was in regard to the former period that Swift, in his letter to the Chevalier Wogan, spake of the British army as a body, “where the least pretension to learning, to piety, or to common morals, would endanger the owner to be cashiered.”

We have nowhere seen a more interesting or more accurate detail of the circumstances which attended the commencement of the ill-fated expedition of Charles Edward than is presented in these Memoirs. The reader traces the progress of the prince from his embarkation on the Loire, to the day when he erected the standard of insurrection in the wilds of Glenfinnan; is made acquainted with the number and the designs of his party; the difficulties he had to encounter, and the alacrity with which he met and at length overcame the most formidable obstructions. Accompanied by only eight persons, none of whom, if we except the Marquis of Tullibardine, possessed much influence in Scotland, he undertook to re-establish his father’s throne in Great Britain, and thereby in some measure to change the politics of Europe.

On the 23d July, 1745, the *Doutelle*, which carried the young Adventurer, touched at the island of Erisca, one of the Hebrides, after a voyage of eighteen days from the coast of France. Two or three hours before landing, we are informed, an eagle hovered over the frigate, and continued to do so till they were all safe on shore. Before dinner the Duke of Athol—as Lord Tullibardine was called by his jacobite friends—observed the bird; but he did not choose to make any remark, lest he should expose himself to the charge of yielding to a Highland prejudice. When he came upon deck after dinner, he saw it still hovering about in the same manner, and closely following the frigate in her course; and then he could not help drawing to it the attention of the prince and his small party, who were much delighted with the appearance of the majestic creature over their heads. “Sir,” said Athol, addressing the son of James, “I hope this is an excellent

omen, and promises good things to us. The king of birds is come to welcome your royal highness upon your arrival in Scotland."

But indications of success were not in all other respects equally flattering. Many of the chiefs attached to his cause, having been kept ignorant of his intentions, were quite unprepared for the desperate enterprise to which he now invited them. Some hesitated, and others attempted to dissuade him from an attempt so rash, and so likely to blast the prospects of his family for ever; nor was it until they found his resolution immovable, that the heads of several clans consented to risk their lives and fortunes in the hopeless attempt to overturn the government of a great nation. More than half a century having elapsed since his grandfather had abdicated the throne, the great mass of society had acquiesced in the new order of things, and many interests were already closely connected with the stability of the house of Hanover. The Presbyterian Kirk, more especially, relied for support on the principles of the Revolution; and we are accordingly enabled to account for the fact, why the ministers of the new Establishment were found among the most active partizans of the State, as well in council as in the field. Many of the preachers actually took arms and braved the hazard of battle; but the majority of them, contented with a more peaceful occupation, confined their exertions to the duty of conveying intelligence and exhorting to steadfastness. At this time, said Duncan Cameron to Bishop Forbes, "there was a *devil of a minister* that happened to be in the island of Barra, who did us a' the mischief that lay in his power, for when he got any inkling about us, he despatched away expresses with informations against us; but—as good luck was—he was not believed, or else we would have been a' tane by the neck." When Duncan spoke these words, *a devil of a minister*, he bowed low, and said to me, 'Sir, I ask you ten thousand pardons for saying so in your presence; but, good faith, I can assure you, sir, (asking your pardon,) he was nothing else but the *devil of a minister*.'

Nor were the many advantages on the side of Charles's enemies at all compensated by his own military talent or experience. Like the ancestors from whom he sprang, he was unquestionably brave and resolute; but his abilities were not of a high order: they were not such as would have conducted him to distinction at the head of an army, even though his troops had enjoyed all the benefits of regular discipline, and his officers had attained the skill of consummate tacticians. He had no system in his movements, no plan in his campaigns. Yielding to circumstances which he ought to have anticipated or contemned, his measures

varied from day to day; and even in the field of battle he was more ready to listen to advice, than to persevere in the method of attack of which he himself had approved. His principal successes accordingly were achieved in direct disobedience of his orders; or, at least, in consequence of disregarding injunctions which could not possibly be executed in the presence of a hostile force. The victory gained on Falkirk muir, for example, was owing to the firmness which Lord George Murray displayed when approaching the royal encampment; and the insignificant results which followed might be justly attributed to the absence of arrangement, and to the total want of confidence in the head which should have directed the whole.

The spirit of rivalry too, and the contemptible jealousy which burned in the breasts of the chieftains, proved a serious obstacle to the progress of discipline, and of that subordination to the dictates of one presiding mind, without which courage is useless, and zeal is only productive of mischief. Regarding themselves as independent sovereigns in their glens and islets, they permitted the rights of precedence between the leader of one sept and the patriarch of another to disturb the counsels of their prince; and rather than allow a fresh regiment to assume the post of honour, if already occupied by the troops of a more illustrious clan, they would have consented to see the former cut in pieces, or scattered before the enemy. If the Macdonalds stood in the extreme of the line, though outflanked and menaced by a superior force, the Mackenzies, or the Camerons, or the Athol men dared not presume to draw up beyond them, even were the issue of the contest to depend upon this simple movement. Some punctilio similar to this appears to have been felt as a reason why the right wing at the battle of Falkirk was not strengthened, when actually turned by a strong detachment of dragoons and militia.

There was a peculiarity too in the constitution of Charles's army, which, in the eyes of the discerning, could not fail to destroy all hope of an ultimate triumph. The men, acting in some degree as volunteers, and depending very often upon their own resources, did not hold themselves bound to extend their services beyond the limits of their own convenience, or even to adhere to their standard in all parts of the kingdom. Many might be inclined to fight within the Grampian grange, who could perceive no obligation to defend lands at a greater distance from their own hearths; while others, who might consider their attachment due as far as the banks of the Tweed, would have refused to accompany their chief into the nearest counties of South Britain. But the main defect in the Highland host was that total disregard of the ordinary rules of war, which led them on all occa-

sions to break their ranks, and engage in combat individually. Perhaps their mode of fighting, sword in hand, necessarily led to this neglect of discipline; for, as soon as a man had singled out his antagonist, his attention was rivetted to that one object, whose motions, in retreat or advance, determined his own. It appears accordingly that, whatever degree of order might have prevailed previous to a charge, it ceased the moment the Celt had fired his piece and unsheathed his claymore. Like his mountain torrent, he rushed forward with irresistible fury upon the lines of the enemy, and generally succeeded in making a deep impression; but whether he was successful or otherwise, the attempt to replace him where he had stood, and to induce him to act in concert with his comrades in the same company, would have proved nearly as fruitless as to make the stream which had dashed over the cascade return to its source.

Thus the battle of Tranent was decided in three minutes. The Highlanders, who were ably led to the attack, discharged their cumbrous muskets, threw them in the faces of the soldiers opposed to them, drew their swords, and brought the conflict to an immediate decision. The fight at Falkirk did not continue much longer, viewed at least as it affected the main body. The first rush of the Macdonalds and men of Athol threw the royal line into confusion, who instantly began to retreat; but Lord George Murray acknowledges that he could not bring back the victors to their ranks, as they actually engaged in pursuit of the dragoons, though there were three or four regiments of the enemy still unbroken, and even threatening their rear. "It is very easy to judge," says that officer himself, "that without a body of regular troops, the Highlanders have many disadvantages, by their not being disciplined, and especially their not rallying quick after an attack. Their advantages this day, as to situation and every thing else, were to their wish. Had the Macdonalds on the right, either not broken their ranks, or rallied soon after, they, with the Athol men, would have cut the whole enemy's foot to pieces; for they were close at them, and must have driven them down the hill before them, and by speed of foot, not a man of them could have got off from them."

The onset of the Highlanders succeeded in the first instance, because it carried surprise as well as terror into the opposite ranks. It was a mode of assault against which discipline had not provided any means of defence; and hence the brave men who had defeated the French in several pitched battles, and established for themselves a high reputation throughout the continent, were scattered in a few moments by a band of untrained shepherds, whose only tactics consisted in an impetuous courage. General Cope,

who had the mortification to see his whole army, including two regiments of dragoons, dispatched in the twinkling of an eye, by the furious charge of a body of men who had never worn an uniform nor appeared at a review, was immediately deprived of his command, not without certain tokens of displeasure and contempt. He consoled himself, however, by predicting that the same fate would befall the next officer who should meet the Pretender's followers in the field; and the repulse of Hawley at Falkirk, in circumstances still less honourable to professional talent, verified the accuracy of this anticipation. The character of Cope accordingly was in some degree restored at the expense of his successor, who ought to have profited by a failure, the causes of which could not now be concealed.

Not being soldiers by profession, nor accustomed to the licence which at that period disgraced nearly all the armies of Europe, the Highlanders, it was frequently remarked, were less formidable to the country through which they passed, than were the troops who were sent to protect the districts which they had invaded. When at Moffat, on their march from England, they gained by their serious habits the reverence and respect of all classes. "It was Sunday," says Lord George Murray, "and having episcopal ministers along with us, we had sermons in different parts of the town, where our men all attended. Our people were very regular that way; and I remember at Derby, the day we halted, as a battle was soon expected, many of our officers and people took the sacrament." In short, they did not belong to that description of warriors in whom the least pretension to piety or common morals was held as a disgrace. Their enterprise, though it had for its object a revolution in the government of the kingdom, was sanctified in their eyes as a crusade against profane usurpers. They viewed the crown as the righteous inheritance of the sovereign under whose banner they fought; as his inalienable property; as secured to him by the laws of God and man; and therefore not transferable to any other head at the pleasure of a faction, however considerable for numbers or power. Such sentiments, moreover, they shared with a large proportion of the British people, much better qualified than the "sons of the mist" to decide on general principles. That they were perfectly right in their conclusions no one will maintain who has studied the history of our constitution, or who has any regard for national privileges; but it is very obvious, notwithstanding, that the political maxims of the jacobites were current among an extensive class of well-informed persons, who had reluctantly yielded to the necessity of violating the rule of succession to the throne.

The English commander, on the other hand, if we may judge

from a little document that remains, was not distinguished by any respect for religion. We allude to his will, of which the following is an extract:—"First, I direct and order, that as there is now a peace, and I may die the common way, my carcase may be put anywhere—'tis equal to me; but I will have no more expense or ridiculous show than if a poor soldier, who is as good a man, was to be buried from the hospital. The priest, I conclude, will have his fee; let the puppy have it. Pay the carpenter for the carcase box. I have hereunto set my hand and seal, having writ it all with my own hand, and signed each page; and this I did because I hate all priests of all professions, and have the worst opinion of all members of the law." Hawley, therefore, we may conclude, was incapable of feeling the lofty sentiments of piety and loyal attachment which warmed the bosom of the poor Highlander, who went to church and received the sacrament when on the eve of a battle. In consenting to lay down his life for his king, the clansman of Macdonald or Macpherson was actuated by a holy impulse, not dissimilar to that which carried the soldier of the cross to Palestine, and sweetened his death as he expired under the walls of Jerusalem or on the banks of Jordan.

Lord George Murray remarks, that on their march they had "episcopal ministers" along with them; and the anecdote already mentioned respecting Bishop Forbes, leaves no room for doubt that Charles found many adherents to his cause among the Scottish episcopalians. This class of men thought themselves ungenerously treated by King William and the first George, who imagined that the frown of government could chill an attachment which was founded on principle. Besides, their church had been deprived of her revenue and civil rank under the auspices of the Revolution; and holding, as many of them did, the doctrine of indefeasible right, it is not surprising that they espoused the interests of him whom they were pleased to denominate James III. But all the insurgents were not episcopalians, and many of these last were not jacobites, nor in any respect friendly to the views of the prince. This distinction, however, was soon forgotten, or studiously overlooked; and it seems to have been adopted as a general maxim, that no one who owned the apostolical institution of prelacy could be loyal, or worthy of confidence and protection.

From the narrative embodied in these Memoirs, it is manifest that the heart of Charles Edward sank as soon as he began to retrace his steps from Derby, and that his energy gradually diminished with his hope of success in the perilous undertaking on which so many lives were pledged. He was still desirous to push on to London, and thrust his "cousin" from the throne; but the

more reflecting of his counsellors, dispirited by the apathy of the English people, (who would not allow themselves to be deluded by theoretical notions on government,) clearly perceived that 5000 men could not penetrate to the capital, nor produce the slightest impression on the stability of an administration under which the country had enjoyed nearly sixty years of repose.

To those who mark the progress of events after the Highlanders returned into Scotland, it will appear evident that a certain despair and recklessness traced their footsteps until they reached Culloden, the scene of their final discomfiture. The gross impolicy of leaving a garrison in Carlisle, and the fruitless attempt to reduce the castle of Stirling at a moment when the Duke of Cumberland was pressing forward to attack them, prove distinctly that their "counsel for war" was not less deficient than their "strength." They ought to have retreated into their mountains, where they could have defied an army three times more numerous than that now marching against them, and where it would have been in their power to refuse battle except on their own terms. The fluctuating measures, too, which wasted their time and divided their sentiments just before the last conflict on Drummoissie muir, were evident tokens that ruin was fast approaching. Various plans were suggested and immediately abandoned; the clans were kept in motion day and night without accomplishing any purpose; and, at length, they were taken into the field to meet a disciplined force double their amount, though so completely exhausted by a long march and want of food, that many of the privates were seen dropping asleep in their ranks. The infatuation which marked all these proceedings was crowned by the folly of risking an action with regular troops, including a large body of artillery and dragoons, on open ground, where both these arms could be most efficaciously employed against them. The result, accordingly, was no other than what every military man must have expected. At the first charge, the Highlanders broke the line opposed to them, and were rushing sword in hand to attack the reserve, when a tremendous fire from cannon loaded with grape swept them off by hundreds, and rendered them an easy prey to the horsemen who assailed their flanks. Failing in this effort, they considered the engagement at an end, and left the field. The French auxiliaries made an attempt to check the advance of the conquerors, and to secure the safety of the prince who had fearlessly exposed himself amidst showers of balls, by one of which his servant was killed at his side. But, in this emergency, the native troops were useless; for having as usual thrown away their muskets when they fell upon the enemy, their only resource was in swiftness of foot. Charles, it is said, was forced

off the field by O'Sullivan, who filled the situation of adjutant-general. The Duke of Perth, who commanded the left, having at the beginning of the action observed the disorder of the right wing, rode gallantly along the whole line to see what could be done ; but, before he could return, the rest of the army had fled.

“ ‘The greatest slaughter was in the pursuit ; for Lord Ancrum, who commanded a regiment of dragoons and Kingstons light horse, spared few or none. It is hard, if not impossible,’ writes the Rev. Mr. Innes, ‘to say what was the precise number of the killed on either side. The best accounts of the loss in general that I have been able to get, are from a Presbyterian minister who lives within a few miles of the place. He tells me that one of the surgeons of the Duke’s army, a very sedate grave man, had counted all the bodies that lay on the field of battle as exactly as he could, and informed him that the killed on both sides amounted to about seven hundred and fifty ; of which he did not doubt but the one half were of the regular troops, and that he did not believe the number of the slain, both in the field and in the pursuit, exceeded twelve hundred.’ ”

But the barbarities which were committed in cold blood after the battle was over, are extremely disgraceful to those who directed the proceedings of the royal army. In the first instance, they would not permit any one to carry the slightest relief or succour to the wounded rebels, who were allowed to lie on the field a day and a night without receiving surgical aid. In the next place, parties of soldiers were sent to the ground with orders to knock on the head all whom they found alive, officers as well as privates. A small house, into which a number, said to be eighteen, of the maimed Highlanders had either crept or been carried, was set on fire, and every soul perished ; among whom was Colonel Orelli, a brave old gentleman who was either in the French or Spanish service. In another hut they found fourteen individuals of different ranks, more or less wounded, and setting them up in a row against the wall, they dispatched them with shot.

“ ‘ I myself was told,’ says Mr. Francis Stuart, ‘ by William Rosse, who was then grieve to my lord president, that twelve wounded men were carried out of his house and shot in a hollow which is within a very short distance of the place of action. William Rosse’s wife told this fact ; she said that the party came to her house and told the wounded men to get up that they might bring them to surgeons to have their wounds dressed ; upon which the poor men, whom she thought in so miserable a way that it was impossible they could stir, made a shift to get up, and went along with the party with an air of cheerfulness and joy, being full of the thought that their wounds were to be dressed. But when the party had brought them to the hollow above-mentioned, which is at a very short distance from her house, she being then within the house, heard the firing of several guns, and coming out immediately

to know the cause, saw all those brought out of her house, under the pretence of being carried to surgeons, were all dead men.'

"As to Mac Vee, or Cameron, his history is a singular instance of constancy and great courage. He was taken in some part of my Lord Seaforth's country, and some letters were found upon him, writ in French, without either direction or subscription. He was brought to Inverness, where General Blackney then commanded, being in September or October 1746, and was put into a vault in the bridge of the said town, in order to make him confess who gave him said letters, or to whom he was conveying them; but this proving ineffectual, he was carried to the cross, where, being stripped naked, he was lashed by the drummers of both the regiments then at Inverness, from heel to head. In the interval between the lashes given by each drummer, he was always asked to confess; but to no purpose, for confess he would not. I myself saw him carried from the vault he was kept in, a second time, in order to be lashed; but by what accident this second lashing was prevented I cannot tell. However, it is certain Mac Vee made no confession; for he was sent back again to prison, where he died miserably of cold and want, after lying there some weeks.—It is remarkable that while he lay in the prison in the greatest misery, he was desired by some people to save his own life by making a confession; but he answered that his life signified nothing in comparison of those his confession might destroy. None durst go nigh him, while in the pit, with any necessary; and when they threw down a pound of meal, which was all the allowance given to any of the prisoners, it was found untouched, he being sickly, full of sores, and most barbarously struck by one of the soldiers with the butt end of his gun in the breast, of which he complained as long as he lived. At last, when carried to the Tolbooth, one there said to him that he was a great fool not to discover what he knew; to which he gave a noble return—'You are the fool; it signifies nothing what they can do to me (let them do the worst), in respect of what could be done to those from whom I had and to whom I was going with the letters; their deaths would be a great loss, but mine will be none.' His father and he had considerable effects, and all were taken; and the poor father was begging in the town that very time, but durst not say he was his son. A charitable person, when he died, sent word that if they would allow the body to remain unburied one hour, a coffin and grave clothes should be sent; but that was refused. Being carried to the grave by two or three beggars, a soldier went and thrust his bayonet several times into the body, to try, as he said, if the rebel was dead."

This resolute undaunted man, who had received a thousand lashes, had been thrust into a cold noisome pit, denied the common necessities of life, bruised, beaten and insulted, displayed a greatness of character unequalled by the highest officer in either army. The consciousness that he possessed a secret on which depended the lives of others, rendered him indifferent to the hazard which threatened his own, and even to the most excruciat-

ing tortures that infuriated ruffians, clothed with despotic authority, could inflict upon him. It is, indeed, not a little remarkable, that, in reference to the events now before us, tokens of heroism and even of talent are multiplied in proportion as we descend in the scale of society; and we discover in rustics, who followed the mere instinct of natural sagacity, a presence of mind and a readiness of resources, the want of which must have been very obvious in some of the principal commanders. For example, when Charles resided at Moyhall, the seat of the chief of the Macintoshes, a stratagem was devised by Lord Loudon to seize the young pretender, and thereby put an end to the contest. To effect this object, he put himself at the head of seventeen hundred men; and, leaving Inverness at midnight, he proceeded on his march over the wild country which intervenes. Some suspicion of such an attempt being entertained by Lady Macintosh, she directed a trusty blacksmith, named Fraser, to keep watch on the muir through which any force from the neighbouring town must pass. This zealous retainer, taking with him four companions well armed, formed an out-post for the protection of his master's dwelling; and, while patrolling backwards and forwards, he spied the head of Lord Loudon's column advancing towards Loch-moy. Fraser instantly fired his piece, an example which was immediately followed by his associates, and, in the meantime, shouted out the names of several of the clans, as if they had been hard at hand, entreating them to commence the attack upon the royal army. His lordship, who thought himself entrapped, immediately began his retreat, and made his way back to Inverness in the greatest disorder, imagining that there was at least three thousand men at his heels commanded by the prince in person. In this manner did a common craftsman baffle the design of an experienced general, and prevent an assault on a defenceless mansion. The prince, it ought to be mentioned, would have escaped; as a little boy, who had been employed as a messenger, succeeded in eluding the vigilance of Loudon's soldiers, with whom he encountered in the dark, and crossing the country by a narrow path, reached Moyhall while they were yet "five quarters of a mile" from it. Charles would have had time to mount and provide for his safety, even if the blacksmith had not so adroitly frustrated the intentions of his enemies.

Had the Earl of Cromarty or the Duke of Perth possessed half the ingenuity of Fraser, the result of their expedition against the same Lord Loudon would have proved very different from what it really was.—But there was no Hoffer nor Miranda in the army of Charles Edward—no partizan leader, who at the head of such men and in such a country would have proved invincible.

The nobles who perilled life, fortune, and title for their prince, the son of him whom they regarded as their legitimate sovereign, were full of courage and honour; but while they despised danger they knew not how to avert it, except by means which tended to render their situation more hopeless. They held themselves ready to give man for man in the field, forgetting that the balance must soon turn against them, and that, with such irregular bands as they commanded, the campaign ought to have been converted into a war of posts.

The fidelity and resolution of some persons of very inferior rank are only to be equalled by the sufferings to which they submitted, and by the relentless barbarity with which they were persecuted. For instance, it was resolved by some humane ladies to further the escape of Mr. Nairn, a wounded gentleman, who was confined in a damp cellar in Inverness. In the prosecution of this object, not unattended with danger even to females, they employed the good offices of Anne Mackay, a poor woman from one of the western islands, to whom the plan was communicated with due caution. Anne entered into their views, and succeeded, first, in getting clothes conveyed to Nairn, and then, by decoying the sentry from his station, in opening the door of the prison and setting him at liberty. Upon being brought before the commanding officer, who insisted upon knowing who had befriended the captive, she gave answers so extremely vague that no one could discover her meaning. She was offered ten guineas if she would tell; but she rejected the money. Then a soldier's wife was instructed to ply her with drink, in the hope that when intoxicated she would divulge the secret, but she refused the liquor; at last, she was sent to the guard-house, where she was compelled to remain standing on her feet two days and a night, without being allowed either to sit down or recline; but, though this harsh usage brought on a disease in the limbs from which she never recovered, she would not betray the trust reposed in her.*

As the insurgents were studiously identified with Episcopals, it was esteemed a duty on the part of the loyal to burn their chapels and destroy their prayer-books. Bishop Forbes asks whether it will not be looked upon as a romance in after ages, that Englishmen should have been employed in destroying places of worship in which their own liturgy was used every Sun-

* Note by Bishop Forbes. "Leith, September 13, 1755. Anne Mackay was with me, when I read to her the five preceding pages; and she declared all concerning herself was very exactly narrated, only it should be ten in place of five guineas offered by Leighton. She told me that, after getting out of prison, the soldiers so beat and bruised her son, of seventeen years of age, that he died three days after."—R.F.

day throughout the year; and not only so, but that they made the bibles and prayer books accompany each other in the flames. One clergyman complains that Lord Ancrum, at the head of his regiment, came three miles off his road to pillage his house and his "poor undeserving books, not sparing three bibles and several common-prayer books." At Bamff, too, we are told, the army destroyed a fine chapel belonging to the Episcopal congregation, cutting down the roof, burning the seats, books, pulpit, and altar, and breaking the organ in pieces. And this, it is added, was their constant practice all the way they marched, with this difference, that in country places they stayed not to take any thing out, but burned houses, bibles, prayer-books, and all; as at New Durn, Clynhill, Kearn of Duffus, and many others. "And many, both officers and soldiers, have since declared that all this was done at the instigation of the Presbyterians, and was indeed a genuine new edition of their father Knox's first reformation."*

At Inverness, General Hawley recommended that all the gates of the town should be shut, in order that no rebel might escape, and that the Episcopal chapel, with the seditious preacher, as he was pleased to call him, in the heart of it, should be burnt forth-with. General Husk stated his opinion that the meeting-house should be taken down, and the timber given to the ovens, as there was a great scarcity of fuel. The latter expedient was finally adopted; and, when the chapel was demolished, the soldiers went to the clergyman's wife with the books, cups, flagons, paten and gown, saying that they were come to give her the first offer, as they were her own. She was, however, advised not to make the purchase, for they would take her money and soon afterwards return and deprive her of the plate, as they had done in other places. In a few weeks they burnt the Episcopal chapels at Tombæ, Shanvel, Robiston, Rossary, Tulluch, Hornie, and Kimmundie.

When the military executions upon the unhappy Episcopalians were completed, the law began its ravages, which were much more severely felt; because, instead of throwing down places of worship, which a little money might have replaced, the worship itself, if directed by a native clergyman, was visited with a severe penalty. No sooner did parliament meet, than an act was passed in which it was provided that from and after the first day of September, 1746, every person exercising the functions of a pastor or minister in any Episcopal meeting-house in Scotland, without registering his letters of orders and taking all the oaths required by law, and praying for his Majesty King George and the royal

* This statement is given on the authority of the Rev. George Innes, of Forres.

family by name, shall for the first offence suffer six months imprisonment, and for the second be transported to some of his Majesty's plantations for life. Every house in which five or more persons, besides the family, or five persons, if the house were not inhabited, should meet for public worship performed by a pastor or minister of the Episcopal communion, was declared to be a meeting-house within the meaning of the act; and no letters of orders, except such as had been given by some bishop of the church of England or of Ireland, were allowed to be registered from and after the said first of September.

The injury done to the Episcopal church in Scotland by the persecution of the clergy, would not probably have been great nor of very long duration, had it not extended likewise to the laity of that communion. But the act further provided, that "if after the 1st of September any person should resort to an illegal Episcopal meeting-house, and not give information within five days of such illegal meeting to some proper magistrate, he should be subjected to fine or imprisonment." It also declared that "no peer of Scotland should be capable of being elected one of the sixteen peers of parliament, or of voting at such election; and that no person should be capable of being elected a member of parliament for any shire or borough, or of voting at such election, who after the first of September should, within the compass of a year, have been twice present at divine service in any Episcopal meeting in Scotland not held according to law."

In this state of things, some of those clergy who, though steady and zealous Episcopalians, had always professed themselves not Jacobites, feeling it their duty to render their chapels *legal* meeting-houses, repaired to the proper magistrates, took the oaths to government required by the statute, and got their letters of orders registered before the 1st day of September. But this compliance availed them nothing; for in May 1748 the former act was amended, when it was declared that "no letters of orders not granted by some bishop of the church of England or of Ireland, should from and after the 29th September following, be sufficient to qualify any pastor or minister of any episcopal meeting in Scotland, whether the same had been registered before or after the 1st of September, 1746; and that every such registration, whether made before or since, should, after the said 29th of September, 1748, be null and void."

This act was directly levelled against the *religion* of the Scottish Episcopalians, for it precluded them from the privilege of political repentance. As such it was felt by the bishops in parliament, not one of whom ventured to support the bill, whilst

some of them, especially Sherlock, Maddox, and Secker, spoke strenuously against it, as a flagrant violation of all the leading principles of Christian freedom. This amendment, however, as it was called, passed through the Commons with little opposition; but in the peers it required great management on the part of the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, who at length got it passed by a majority of five. In this way the clergy who complied with the law were subjected to the same persecution which was directed against their non-juring brethren; and one of them, who had during two years regularly prayed for King George by name, was actually imprisoned six months, for no other offence except that of having more than five persons in his chapel. Others who refused to pray for the sovereign by name, were, with a greater show of reason and justice, visited with a similar punishment; and several, who, in the discharge of their professional duty, had exposed themselves to the still severer penalties of the act, took refuge on this side of the Tweed, or even in foreign countries.

The cause of episcopacy in the north was materially affected by this unmerciful legislation. The law had associated that form of religion with disloyalty to the existing government, and thereby, in fact, entirely proscribed it, inasmuch as the profession of it, in connexion at least with the indigenous Communion, was rendered incompatible with the enjoyment of political privileges in some most essential points. No person holding office under the crown in any department, whether military or civil, could venture to be present in a chapel where the liturgy was read by a native clergyman; and, in fact, we have seen that every individual who attended such meetings, and did not give information to a magistrate, was liable to be fined and imprisoned. Many of the nobility, accordingly, discontinued their public attendance, and either procured chaplains from England and Ireland, or read the service themselves in their respective houses. Before the insurrection in 1745, there were sixteen Episcopal congregations in Edinburgh, and about two hundred north of the river Tay; the greater part of which were dispersed; many of the chapels were burned or pillaged; and the poor ministers compelled to seek subsistence and protection among the more devoted adherents of their church. In some places, the magistrates had been accustomed to frequent Episcopal meeting-houses arrayed in the insignia of their office, giving all the countenance which it was possible to bestow upon an ecclesiastical body which had ceased to be established; but, after the penal laws of 1746 and 1748 were enacted, every one, who wished to be esteemed a friend of the House of Hanover, deserted the Scottish bishops and abjured at once the divine right of kings and of prelates. It is unnecessary to

observe that, under the malign influence of such severe statutes, the number of Episcopal chapels rapidly diminished in every district of Scotland. Divine service was performed in the most private manner, in remote mansions, and sometimes even under the shelter of a wild wood; for, though the civil power, generally speaking, showed no zeal in executing laws which were a disgrace to the age and parliament whence they issued, yet when informations were lodged, they could not refuse to proceed against the offenders. The accession of George the Third, however, who respected even the prejudices of the non-jurors, marked the beginning of a more lenient era. No alteration, indeed, took place in the state of the law till the year 1792, when Scottish Episcopacy was once more permitted to raise its head above the pressure of direct persecution, and to receive within its pale, without incurring any stigma, all who retained any regard for primitive forms.

Mr. Chambers, in his Preface to these Memoirs, speaks of the "extraordinary outrages, and the common theft, attributed to the Duke of Cumberland." It is probable that he alludes to the depredations committed in the house of Mrs. Gordon at Aberdeen, whose statement of her losses is recorded by Bishop Forbes. This lady was a sister of Mr. Thomas Bowdler, of Bath, a name well known to all the lovers of piety and learning; and the particulars now mentioned are contained in a letter written by her to her sister Jane. From the details, which she gives at considerable length, it is manifest that the duke was privy to the disgraceful transaction, and even profited by it; but the principal actor was the renowned General Hawley, who entertained so deep an aversion to priests and lawyers, as being very dishonest persons, and who left in his will so very minute directions about his "carcase box." Mrs. Gordon, it should seem, was desired to give up her house for the accommodation of the hero of Falkirk; a requisition which it was in vain for her to oppose on any ground, even though she urged that she was comparatively a stranger, and had no place to lay her head. To prepare for her new visitors she locked up all the valuable articles belonging to her establishment;—

"But the very morning after they came, before I was out of bed, General Hawley sent two messengers to command me to send him every key I had; and so I did, still thinking that when he had satisfied his curiosity, he would send them to me again: but, about six o'clock in the afternoon, he sent one of his aide-de-camps to me, (whose name is Wolf,) who, after telling me rudely enough that he had a great deal of trouble to find me out, said that he was come to let me know that, by the duke and General Hawley's orders, I was deprived of every thing I

had but the clothes on my back. Do not wonder that I thought this an uncommon hard sentence, for I am very sure I never either said or did any thing that could offend any of them, or any of the inhabitants of the place. The gentleman told me that indeed the General had been very strict in his inquiries about me, but could not find any thing to lay to my charge. The next day there was a petition read to the duke, setting forth the cruelty of this sentence, and desiring that at least I might have the clothes belonging to myself and my child, with my provisions, with what I could make plainly appear belonged entirely to me of other people. It was said he seemed quite amazed at it, and said he would take care that I should not be robbed; and indeed the same gentleman came to me again, and said the duke had ordered that the things should not be taken from me, so I thought I might depend on this message. But General Hawley, who lived in my house, took care to prevent that; for he packed up every bit of china I had, which I am sure could not be bought for two hundred pounds, all my bedding and table linen, every book, my repeating clock which stood by the bed in which he lay every night, my worked screen, every rag of Mr. Gordon's clothes, the very hat, breeches, night-gown, shoes, and what shirts there were of the child's, twelve tea-spoons, strainer and tongs, the japanned board on which the chocolate and coffee-cups stood, and put them on board a ship in the night time, directed to himself at Holyrood-house at Edinburgh.

"The flutes, music, and my cane, he made presents of. I had five pound and a half of tea, seven loaves of fine sugar, half a hundred of lump, seven pound of chocolate, a great stock of salt-beef, pickled pork, hams, pease, butter, coals, peats, ale, vermicelli, rice, and spice, some cheese, brandy, rum, sago, hartshorne, salop, sweet-meats, Narbonne honey, two dozen wash-balls, with many things which it is impossible to mention, all which he kept for himself, nor would he give me any share of them; even my empty bottles he took. The morning he went away, which was Tuesday the 8th, he took the blankets and pillows of the beds, even the larding pins, iron screws, the fish-kettle, and marble mortar,—in short, he has left nothing behind but the beds without coverings. The chairs and tables, my writing tables, the corner cupboard, and Mr. Gordon's desk, he has broke as much as can be; and though he had the keys he has taken off the locks, and taken the part of it that was at the bottom for holding his account-books, to pack part of the china in; in short, a house so plundered I believe was never heard of. It is not six hundred pounds that would make up my loss; nor have I at this time a single table-cloth, napkin or towel, tea-cup, glass, or any other conveniency. The only worldly comfort I have had under my misfortunes has been that my friends did not know the ill usage I have met with, for, as they were at too great a distance to help me, I thought it a happiness that they were not feeling with me; and till the Duke and General were gone, and I found that they really had taken every thing that was possible to carry away, I hoped it would not have been quite so bad as I find it. All the Episcopal meetings are pulled down; the altars, pulpits, and seats, were employed to heat the ovens."

Hawley appears to have been the principal thief, and also to

have secured the greater part of the booty for himself; but it was proved that "the best tea equipage, packed up in part of the "mahogany bureau, was directed to the Duke of Cumberland at "St. James's, and that the set of coloured table china was directed in the same manner." "Mr. Dunlop, the watch-maker "in Spring Garden, owns that he has since mended the repeating "clock for General Hawley. The clock was bought by Mr. "Gordon of Dunlop, which was the reason of his knowing it "again."*

Lord John Russell, in his *History of Modern Europe*, has expressed some doubt as to those barbarities which popular report in Scotland alleges to have been perpetrated by the Duke of Cumberland after his victory at Culloden. It appears, however, from the very authentic evidence collected by Bishop Forbes, that these outrages have been in no respect exaggerated. On the contrary, the violence and cruelty inflicted upon the poor Highlanders and Episcopalians are found to have actually exceeded the most appalling descriptions which had reached the ears of those who heard the least favourable version of the story. The murders in cold blood which were perpetrated on the field, the day after the battle, were indeed sufficiently revolting; but they were not to be compared in point of real atrocity with the miserable condition of the prisoners, who were thrust into dungeons without food, clothes, or any one to dress their wounds, or who were crowded on board ships like cattle, where hundreds of them perished under a combination of sufferings scarcely surpassed in the black-hole of Calcutta.

To insure accuracy, Bishop Forbes took a narrative from the mouth of every person whom he could meet with, who had participated to any extent in the events which he has recorded. This precaution necessarily gives rise to a certain degree of repetition, inasmuch as the same facts enter into the testimony of all the witnesses: but this disadvantage is amply compensated by the certainty which has been thereby obtained, in regard to all the main occurrences related in these *Memoirs*. The slight discrepancy in dates and subordinate circumstances which may be occasionally detected in the evidence of his highland friends, did not, in the estimation of the Bishop, diminish the reliance which he himself was inclined to repose on their good faith. Nor will the most sceptical reader of these extracts from the "*Lion* in

* Note by Bishop Forbes. Leith, January 9, 1760. "This day I despatched all the fore-mentioned papers to Mr. Robert Lyon, for Mr. Bowdler, by a private hand sailing for London."

Mourning" discover any good reason for calling in question the historical grounds on which they rest, or for charging the right reverend compiler with a too easy credulity.

Mr. Chambers is not without fear that "in fixing the historical "evidence of so dark a tale," some blame may be attached to him for reviving, or for running the risk of reviving, animosities which it were as well to leave asleep. But, in his own defence he remarks, that, besides the abstract value of truth, "there may be some use in showing how liable even an improved system of government, like that of the Brunswick family, is to fall into the worst errors of that which preceded it, and how liable the people are to be disappointed in their most sanguine expectations of political perfection." The cruelties which followed Culloden, and the domineering and unconstitutional violence with which the country in general was then treated, may stand, moreover, as a good offset to the tyrannical barbarity of the latter Stuarts; for, though the former were less infamous in degree and duration, they had also less excuse from the age in which they took place. And, he concludes, "it is but just, when the faults of one party were so much insisted upon, that the sins of the other should not be altogether overlooked."*

The most interesting portion of this work is that which respects the "Prince's Wanderings and Escape." In this, as in all the former chapters, there is a considerable variety of diaries and declarations, all agreeing in substance, though differing in some of the minuter details. The first in order is the journal of Captain O'Neil, who accompanied Charles Edward from Culloden, till the period when the latter committed himself to the care of Flora Macdonald; when his "hard fate and the prince's safety "obliged him to share no longer the misfortunes of that illustrious "hero, whose grandeur of soul and intrepidity, with a calmness "of spirit peculiar to himself in such dangers, increased in those "moments when the general part of mankind abandon themselves "to their fate." The second is the journal of Ned Burke, who after attending the Adventurer as a guide, and resisting the temptation of £30,000, drudged out the remainder of his days as a chairman in Edinburgh. The third in order is the Narrative of Donald Macleod, taken by Bishop Forbes from the mouth of the old Highlander himself, when, in August, 1747, he visited Leith on his return from captivity in London. Then follow the narratives of Miss Flora Macdonald and of Captain Donald Macdonald; the former of which was written from her own dictation

* Note prefixed to the Section entitled "Barbarities after Culloden."

at Edinburgh, by Dr. Burton, and the latter was received at Leith in a similar manner by Bishop Forbes.

The anecdotes preserved by the more humble attendants of the unfortunate prince are extremely interesting, and expressed too in the most simple language. Ned Burke, a native of the isle of Sky, had a share in the fight of Culloden, as well as in the honour of conducting his commander off the ground, and indicating to him a place of safety. When Charles was at Kildun house, intelligence was conveyed to Stornaway, "upon which a drum beat, and upwards of a hundred men convened to apprehend us. However, the Mackenzies proved very favourable and easy; for they could have taken us, if they had pleased. We were then only four in number besides the prince, and we had only four hired men for rowing the barge. Upon the alarm Ned Burke advised that they should take to the mountains, but the prince said, 'How long is it, Ned, since you turned cowardly? I shall be sure of the best of them ere taken, which, I hope, shall never be in life.'" Some time after, they went to South Uist, and took refuge in the mountains of Coradale, where they stayed three weeks. One day the prince seeing a deer ran straight to him, fired off hand, and killed him. Edward Burke brought home the deer and made ready some collops; then comes a poor boy, who, without asking questions, put his hand among the meat, which the cook (Edward Burke) perceiving, gave him a whop with the back of his hand. Charles, observing this, said "O man, you do not remember the Scripture, which commands us to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. You ought rather to give him meat than a stripe." The prince then ordered some clothes for the boy, and said he would pay for them; which was done accordingly. The prince added more, saying, "I could not see a Christian perish for want of food and raiment, had I the power to support them!"—"Now," says Ned Burke, "gentlemen and ladies, who read this, believe it to be a true and genuine short account of hardships that happened, and what the author saw; but for brevity's sake I have not made mention of many wants the prince suffered, the many ill-dressed diets he got, the many bad beds he lay in, with all which he cheerfully and patiently put up."

Donald Macleod, though not originally attached to the rebel army, proved in the end not less devoted to his cause than was honest Burke. Being well acquainted with the coast and accustomed to navigate the small craft in which the Hebrideans convey themselves from one island to another, Donald was selected as a useful attendant on the steps of the fugitive prince. He

was desired to go to Boradale a few days after the defeat at Cul-loden, and when he arrived there the first man he saw was Charles Edward in a wood, all alone. The latter, making towards the Celt, asked him if he were Donald Macleod of Guaterglass in Sky? "Yes," said Donald, "I am the same man, may it please your majesty, at your service. What is your pleasure with me?" "Then," said the prince, "you see, Donald, I am in distress; I therefore throw myself into your bosom, and let you do with me what you like. I hear you are an honest man and fit to be trusted."

When Donald gave this part of his narrative to Bishop Forbes, he wept sore; the tears came running down his cheeks, and he said: "Wha de'il could help greeting when speaking on such a sad subject?" He was not aware of the more elegant terms in which the Roman poet expressed a similar sentiment:

" Quis talia fando
Myrmidonum, Dolopumve, aut duri miles Ulyssci
Temperet a lacrymis!"

In reply to Charles the intelligent boatman spoke as follows; affording another proof that the wisdom and courage of that era shone forth with the greatest lustre in the persons of the lowly: "Alas, may it please your Excellency, what can I do for you? for I am but a poor auld man and can do very little for myself!"—"Why," said the prince, "the service I am to put you upon, I know, you can perform very well. It is, that you go with letters from me to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod. I desire, therefore, to know if you will undertake this piece of service; for I am really convinced that these gentlemen, for all that they have done, will do all in their power to protect me." Upon hearing this, Donald was struck with surprise, and plainly told the prince that he would do anything but that. It was a task he would not undertake, if he should hang him for refusing. "What!" said Donald, "does not your Excellency know that these men have played the rogue to you all together! And will you trust them for all that. Na you maunna do't." Then Donald informed the prince that Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod were actually in search of him at the head of their militia, and not more than ten miles distant.

It was then resolved to put to sea; for which purpose Donald took care to buy a pot for boiling porridge, or the like, when they should happen to land; and a poor firloft of meal was all the provision he could make out to carry along with them." There were in the boat, besides Charles himself, the Captains O'Sulli-

van, O'Neil, and Macdonald, a clergyman of the Church of Rome, and Donald Macleod, who acted as master and pilot. The rowers were eight in number, among whom was Murdoch Macleod, the son of Donald, who, though only fifteen years of age, chose to bear a part in the troubles and dangers of the period. He was placed at the grammar school of Inverness; but no sooner had he learned that a battle was about to be fought, than, providing himself with a claymore, dirk, and pistol, he left his books and took his chance in the field of Culloden. After the defeat he found means to trace the footsteps of the prince, and followed him from glen to mountain; "and this was the way," said Donald, "that I met with my poor boy."

They had not rowed far from the shore when a violent tempest arose, accompanied with much thunder and lightning. When the prince saw the gale increasing still more and more, he wanted much to be at land again; saying, "I had far rather face canons and muskets than be in such a storm as this." But Donald would not hear of that proposal at all, assuring the prince that it was impossible for them to return to the land again; for, as the wind was against them, the boat would be dashed upon rocks and go to pieces. He then asked Donald what he had a mind to do? The other replied, "since we are here we have nothing for it but, under God, to set out to sea directly. Is it not as good for us to be drowned in clean water, as to be dashed in pieces and drowned too?"

"After this all was hush and silence; not one word more amongst them, expecting every moment to be overwhelmed with the violence of the waves, and to sink down to the bottom. To make the case still worse they had neither pump nor compass, nor lantern, along with them; and the night turned so pitch-dark that they knew not where they were for the most of the course. This made them afraid of being tossed upon some coast, where the militia were in arms to prevent the prince's escape. But," to use Donald's words, "as God would have it, by peep of day we discovered ourselves to be on the coast of the Long Island; and we made directly to the nearest land, which was Rushness, in the island Benbecula, where, with great difficulty, we got on shore and saved the boat. They had run nearly a hundred miles in eight hours. I asked Donald" (says Bishop Forbes) "if the prince was in health all the time he was with him. He replied that the prince would never own he was in bad health; though he and all that were with him had reason to think that during the whole time the prince was more or less under a bloody flux, but that he bore up most surprisingly, and never wanted spirits. Donald added, that the prince, for all the fatigue he underwent, never slept above three or four hours, at the most, at a time; and that, when he awoke in the morning, he was always sure to

call for a chopin (quart) of water, which he drank off at a draught; and that he had a little bottle in his pocket out of which he used to take so many drops every morning and throughout the day, saying, if any thing should ail him, he hoped he should cure himself, for that he was something of a doctor. And, faith," said Donald, "he was, indeed, a bit of a doctor; for Ned Burke happening once to be unco ill of a colick, the prince said, 'Let him alone, I hope to cure him of that;' and accordingly he did so, for he gave him so many drops out of the little bottle, and Ned was soon as well as ever he had been."

Charles and his companions were often reduced to great straits. He, O'Sullivan, and O'Neil, had but six shirts amongst them; and frequently "when they stripped to dry those that that were upon them, they found those they were to put on as wet as the ones they had just thrown off. Upon a desert island in which they took refuge, they discovered a quantity of good dried fish, of which they resolved to make the best fare they could. As they had plenty of brandy and sugar along with them, and found very good springs upon the island, they wanted much to have a little warm punch to cheer their hearts. They luckily stumbled upon an earthen pitcher which some fishermen had left, and this served their purpose very well for heating the water; but the second night, by some accident or other, the pitcher was broken to pieces, so that they were obliged to drink their punch cold."

Donald was asked if the prince ever gave any particular toast when they were taking a cup of grog, or any similar beverage. He replied that, on such occasions, his royal highness very often drank to the Black Eye; by which, said the pilot, he meant the second daughter of France, and I never heard him give any particular health but that alone. When he spoke of that lady, which he did frequently, he appeared to be more than ordinarily well pleased. When Donald was in like manner interrogated, whether he ever heard the prince mention that he had any trust to put in the King of France for assistance, he answered, that when Charles Edward spoke of the King of France he always expressed great affection, and declared that he firmly believed his majesty had his cause much at heart, and would, he hoped, do all in his power to promote it. When the prince at any time talked on this subject, he was wont, says Donald, to add these words: "But, gentlemen, I can assure you, a king and his council are two very different things."

On the tenth of May, the fugitives left the cold remote islet on which they had passed four nights, with the intention of landing on Scalpay; but the sight of numerous cruisers, which were sent out to capture the son of the chevalier, compelled them oftener than once to shift their course. Next day they fell short

of bread, but having some meal on board, the men, who were now very hungry, proceeded to make drammach or crowdy with salt water and to lick it up. No dish, perhaps, could be less inviting than oatmeal drenched with sea water ; but the prince, observing to them that it was a kind of food he had never seen before, desired to taste it. His appetite, a good deal sharpened by fresh air and abstinence, was easily reconciled to the homely fare ; he ate of it very heartily, and Donald remarks, “ that never any meat or drink came wrong to him ; he could take a share of every thing, be it good, bad, or indifferent ; and was always cheerful and contented in every condition.”

One day, coursing up and down Loch Boisdale, the communicative pilot asked the prince, if he were once come to his own, what he would do to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod for their unkind behaviour. “ Oh, Donald,” said the young aspirant to the British throne, “ what would ye have me do to them ? Are they not our own people still ? They are not quite to blame for what they have done. It is altogether to the power which President Forbes had over their judgment in these matters. Besides, if the king were restored, we should be as sure of them for friends as of any other men whatsoever.”

About the middle of June, Charles Edward was so closely beset that it became necessary to have recourse to stratagem in order to accomplish his escape. Two ships of war lay at the mouth of the Loch, and five hundred soldiers were already within a mile and a half of the spot where he was concealed. He therefore resolved to dismiss all his attendants except Captain O’Neil, who, as we shall see anon, had the presence of mind to introduce him to Flora Macdonald. Meantime we will pursue a little farther the history of Donald Macleod, who was taken prisoner about ten days after he had separated from the prince. Being brought before General Campbell, who commanded in those quarters, he was asked if he had been along with the young Pretender ? “ Yes,” said Donald, “ I was along with that young gentleman, and I winna deny it.” “ Do you know ” said the General, “ what money was upon that man’s head ?—no less a sum than *thirty thousand pounds sterling*, which would have made you and all your children after you happy for ever !” Donald’s reply was given in these words, “ What then ! *thirty thousand pounds*—though I had gotten it, I could not have enjoyed it eight-and-forty hours ; conscience would have gotten up upon me ; that money could not have kept it down ; and though I had gotten all England and Scotland for my pains, I would not have allowed a hair of his head to be touched if I could help it.” This noble

sentiment roused for a moment a corresponding feeling in the breast of the General.—“I will not say that you are in the wrong,” was his first observation; but he added, “you are now in the king’s mercy, and if you will not declare every thing you know of this matter, here is a machine that will force you to declare.” Donald, who had no secret to keep, gave a narrative of past events and escaped the torture. But he was detained a prisoner on board a sloop of war, where he and his fellow captives were very roughly used. They had their quarters assigned in a dark part of the ship, where they were not allowed the light of a candle of any kind, from the first day of August, 1746, to the 9th April, 1747. When they were brought opposite to Tilbury Fort upon the Thames they were transferred to another vessel, where they lay for months together in the most deplorable state of misery, “their clothes wearing so off them that many at last had not a single rag to cover their nakedness.” Here they were treated with the utmost barbarity and cruelty, with a view, as they suppose, to pine away their lives, and by piece meal to destroy every man of them; and, indeed, the design had too great success, for many of them died. Donald Macleod said he had reason to think that not less than four hundred men died on board three ships opposite Tilbury Fort, among whom were the sixty or seventy Grants of Glenmoriston, who, by the persuasion of the Laird of Grant, had surrendered themselves and delivered up their arms at Inverness. He said that finer and stouter men never drew a sword, and only one or two survived the miseries of this confinement and returned to their own country.

Bishop Forbes relates that when Donald and a friend were talking of the barbarous usage they themselves and others had met with, they used to say “God forgie them! But God let them never die till we have them in the same condition they had us, and we are sure we would not treat them as they treated us; we would shew them the difference between a good and a bad cause.”

When it became necessary to have the prince removed to a greater distance from his enemies, Miss Flora Mac Donald was induced to conduct him, under the disguise of a maid servant and the name of Betty Burke, to the house of her mother, now united a second time in marriage to Macdonald of Armadale, in the isle of Sky. They embarked from South Uist in a small boat, attended by one servant, Neil Mackechan, father of the celebrated Marshal Macdonald Duke of Tarentum. They had not rowed from shore above a league when the sea became rough and at length tempestuous; upon which the royal handmaiden, who was recommended to the lady of Armyndale as an excellent spinner, enter-

tained Flora and the boatman with several songs. Charles, little accustomed to the long petticoat, though he had often worn the philibeg, appeared a very awkward female. One of the damsels in Sky, struck with his unseemly gait, declared she "had never seen such an impudent looking woman in her life, and was sure she was either an Irishwoman or a man in woman's dress." Flora gave him several hints as to the management of his garments, particularly in crossing the mountain rivulets, when the prince either shewed his limbs too freely, or allowed his gown to drag in the water. When Charles took leave of this heroic lady he saluted her, and said, "for all that has happened yet, I hope we shall one day meet in St. James's."

Upon reaching the mainland, the adventurer was received by Macdonald of Boradale, who had lost a son at Culloden. When he entered the house seeking protection and saw the mother of the young man who had recently lost his life under his banners, he went up to her, and with tears in his eyes asked if she could still endure the sight of one who had been the cause of so much distress to her and her family. "Yes," answered this Roman mother, "although all my sons had fallen in your Royal Highness's service!" After lurking in the Highlands till the middle of September, Charles was received on board a French ship, and took his final leave of a country in which during fourteen months he had suffered much anxiety and many privations. His numerous escapes were almost miraculous: and in his cause, too, the mean-minded became exalted; the faithless acted upon principles of honor; the robber proved kind and considerate; boys acted like heroes; and women suffered like martyrs. But in return, many of the great let themselves down till they were within reach of the most unworthy motives which spring from selfishness, envy, resentment, and deceit; and, doomed to fall, they neglected, in too many cases, to fall with dignity.

No one can read these Memoirs without being struck with the resemblance between the adventures of Charles II., after the battle of Worcester, and those of his grand-nephew in the Scottish Highlands. The Miss Lane, who figured in the former case, was the counterpart of Flora Macdonald in the latter; and it is well known, that the merry monarch found it necessary to assume the garb of a servant, and appear as the groom of the lady to whose zeal and presence of mind he owed his escape. Nor was the fidelity of the English boor less conspicuous than that of the Hebridian boatman. The person of the king had become known to no fewer than forty individuals, not one of whom could be tempted to betray him. Even the waiter at an inn who recognized

his countenance, kept the secret, notwithstanding the high reward which was offered for his apprehension.

In these days, too, of ascending democracy, it is gratifying to observe the reverence which was displayed by the old Jacobites for the claims of sovereignty, the legal transmission of the crown, and even for the personal reliques of the Royal House, which they delighted to honour. As a philosophical speculation, the doctrine of divine right may be untenable; it may also be denounced as a pernicious absurdity, inconsistent with all the privileges of social life; but, nevertheless, as a barrier against the inroads of popular fury and ambition, it may be regarded as, at least, a harmless prejudice. The veneration, indeed, which some of the non-jurors bestowed upon apron strings and little pieces of printed linen may excite a smile of contempt; though it might be confessed that such political superstition is at once more amiable and less dangerous than the rage for change and neglect of authority, which mark the times wherein our destiny is thrown. The pride of living under a monarch who could boast of being the descendant of a hundred kings, is more noble than a churlish enmity against all ancient institutions, a clamour for cheap government, and a preference of republican equality.

ART. IX.—*A Voyage round the World, including Travels in Africa, Asia, Australasia, America, &c. &c., from 1827 to 1832.*
By James Holman, R. N. F. R. S. &c. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1834.

NEVER did we open any Work more cumulated with paradox than that now lying before us. Mr. Holman has the misfortune of being stone-blind, and *therefore* he is beset with an insatiate passion for Travelling: as he projected a voyage of pleasure, he chose the Slave-coast for his destination: and in order to promote the recovery of his health, he fixed upon an abode under the proverbial death-climate of Sierra Leone.

There are many obvious circumstances which “fright” all criticism “from its propriety” in the estimate which it may attempt to form of these pages; and we shall for the most part content ourselves with an endeavour to abridge their narrative, which is very far from being devoid of interest. Its few sins are chiefly of a kind, which may be remedied by a little amputation;

and if we omit some incidents, and soften others which are coloured rather too strongly, we may perhaps succeed, as we wish to do, in leaving a favourable impression of the writer.

On July 1, 1827, Mr. Holman embarked at Woolwich on board the good ship *Eden*, Captain W. F. W. Owen, Commander, who had been appointed Superintendent of a new settlement about to be established on the Island of Fernando Po; which a reference to any map of Africa will shew to be situated in the Western bend of the Bight of Biafra. We may pass rapidly by Northfleet, the Downs, and even the Levee of his present Majesty, (at that time Lord High Admiral) at Plymouth. We shall land neither at Madeira nor at Teneriffe; nor shall we dwell upon the respective excellences of Tinto, Sercial, or Malmsey; nor describe the properties of the Orchilla weed at St. Iago; albeit that plant "belongs to the Class Cryptogamia and Order Algæ of the Linnean system, and to the Class Algæ and Order Lichenes of the Natural system." This information, and much more *similis farinæ*, may be learned without the trouble of crossing the Tropic of Cancer, and therefore we shall anchor at once "in 14½ fathom water off the town of Sierra Leone, shortly before midnight, on Sunday the 2d of September." How much Chronological obscurity would have been escaped, if all writers had accustomed themselves to the laudable habits of log-book precision!

The first settler who came on board, on the morning after the arrival of the *Eden*, was the agent-victualler of the Colony; his main object was to obtain a secret supply of medicines; for although, as in professional duty bound, he assured all his customers that brandy and water and cigars were infallible remedies for the fever, (how much is expressed here by the definite article!) he felt some not unreasonable misgiving of his favourite pharmacopœia, which was justified by his demise within a week. Deaths and Tornados, indeed, appear to have been the daily and almost the sole object of contemplation during Mr. Holman's stay at Sierra Leone.

The Sherbro Boollams, whose territories adjoin the North of this Colony, have long evinced themselves very faithful allies of the British; and thirty years ago their Chief prevented a dangerous invasion, by refusing free passage to the hostile Tribes who meditated attack. As an acknowledgment of this important service, he was invited to Freetown, and solemnly crowned there by the title of King George. Upon his death, in 1826, an interregnum of many months ensued; but the maintenance of the British interest being deemed especially necessary in this Court, it was determined that a Commissioner should be despatched, in order,

in the first instance, to secure the election of one Macaulay Wilson, a man of considerable abilities, who had been educated in England, and was the nearest relative of the late King; and afterwards to negotiate a Convention, by which the sovereignty of Boollam was to be ceded to Great Britain under certain stipulations. Without that arrangement, the suppression of the Slave-trade appeared impossible; for Dealers might in a few hours transfer themselves and their cargoes from Sierra Leone, without the reach of British Law.

Lieutenant Maclean, the officer selected for this service, appears to have executed his diplomacy with considerable adroitness. The chief opposition which he was expected to encounter, was likely to arise from the Mandingo headmen, all of whom are covertly or openly engaged in the Slave-trade; but the principal of these Settlers, Dalmahoumedii, a man of large property, was either gained over, or dissembled his enmity. He entertained the Commissioner with a dinner dressed in the European manner; drank wine freely, although he was a Mohammedan; and permitted such of his eighty-five wives as were present (forty-five of them having been wedded in one day) to partake of the same beverage.

During the Election and Coronation of a King, a period which for the most part exceeds a fortnight, all crimes, excepting murder or an attempt at murder, may be committed with impunity. It does not surprise us, therefore, that the population of Yougroo (the Rheims of Boollam), which in ordinary seasons does not exceed 500, or 600, souls, was swelled to as many thousands by the influx of all the idle and worthless of the neighbouring nations, who were willing to profit by this "sleep of the law." Many persons, especially Minstrels or Bards, had walked upwards of 400 miles from the interior.

The Kings of Boollam, hitherto, when about to expire, had been hastened out of the World by their loving subjects, who sacrificed two human victims over their graves. Through fear of "a palaver" with Sierra Leone, this custom had been first violated in the person of King George, who was allowed to die a natural death, after he had attained, as was said, more than one hundred years. John Macaulay Wilson was elected his successor without opposition; the Boollam Country was declared to be in the palm of his hand, and the scales of justice to hang upon his finger. The speeches which announced his inauguration were long, pointed, sonorous, complimentary and congratulatory. Certain mysterious ceremonies were celebrated in the depths of the Bush, from which the uninitiated were excluded, and which, therefore, of course, Lieutenant Maclean cannot describe; and afterwards, while the natives paid homage, the Minstrels performed a concert

“upon their several instruments, some of which were very ingenious and musical. Those in particular, who had come a long distance from the interior, executed with spirit and taste some very beautiful airs; much finer, indeed, than any native music I had yet heard. They accompanied their instruments with extempore recitatives in praise of those Chiefs whom they knew. I was, of course, included, as they expected that I would be inclined to reward them handsomely. Each Minstrel of any repute had a person attached to him by way of Fool or Jester, several of whom acted their parts very well, and strongly reminded me of Shakespeare's Clowns.”—vol. i. p. 81.

In spite of this progress in at least one Art, Lieutenant Maclean represents the Boollams to be a nation of thieves, idlers and drunkards, among whom, notwithstanding the great expense which had been lavished for the attainment of the object, not a single convert to Christianity remained at the time of his visit. The soil is eminently rich and fertile, and the climate healthy. After six days' residence and a triumph over numberless evasions and objections, the Envoy obtained a ratification of the Treaty which he was instructed to negotiate, and took possession of the Kingdom of Boollam in the name of his Britannic Majesty. We wish that he had introduced us more fully in detail to the secrets of the Black Congress and its Protocols.

Mr. Holman was present at the first crim. con. trial, which proclaimed the growth of civilization in Sierra Leone, and he reports at length the speech of the Plaintiff's Counsel. The Defendant, alas! was a Preacher in one of the Independent Chapels, and a married man in advanced life. The frail fair was a free Negress; the facts were proved mainly by the evidence of another victim of the hoary sinner's licentiousness, and the damages awarded were fifty pounds; too small a sum as a punishment for the crime, but an ample price for the favours of a middle-aged Negress with a large adult illegitimate family.

Sierra Leone was first colonized in 1787, by about 400 Blacks and sixty Whites, the latter chiefly women of an abandoned character. The present population consists of about 15,000 souls, distributed through twelve Parishes. Of these, not more than 110 are Europeans, two thirds of whom are under thirty years of age, the rest are liberated Africans. The Capital stands at the entrance of the river; it is laid out with regularity, and the streets are spacious, extending two miles in length along the water side, and one in breadth from the beach to the hills.

“The houses of the Governor, several of the respectable merchants, and some of the natives, are built of stone. There is a church also, on a very magnificent scale; indeed, so ambitious was the design of this

building, that the Colonial Government do not appear to have been able to afford the expense of furnishing the interior, and have accordingly run up an ugly brick wall in the centre, for the purpose of appropriating one half of it to religious duties, and the other to public offices. The church, as it was built, was evidently too capacious for the congregation that was likely to attend the service of the Established Religion, particularly as a great portion of the population consists of Dissenters, who have men of their own colour and way of thinking for preachers. I have heard some of their black Divines, but cannot say that I was much edified by their discourses."—vol. i. p. 116.

Mr. Holman proceeded on his voyage on Oct. 5th, and while coasting by Cape Mesurada he is naturally tempted into an episodical account of the American settlement of Liberia, which lies under its Eastern side. His materials, as he honestly tells us, are chiefly derived from Pamphlets which he procured in Sierra Leone; and he employs them with the most perfect simplicity, not in any way deducing from their use, the obvious inference of the possibility of obtaining information from Fire-side travelling. After one or two experiments on less favourable spots, the district now called Liberia was first settled by the Agents of the American Colonization Society, in December, 1821. The territory is formed by a peninsula twelve leagues in extent, in no part more than one league in width, and occasionally contracted to half that breadth. Monrovia, the chief town, stands on the S. W. bank of a river, about two miles within the extremity of the Cape. Having cleared the brushwood, and established themselves in the skeletons of twenty-two dwelling houses, the Colonists almost immediately became involved in a long and disastrous war with the Natives. We have not room to detail the hostilities with King George, the alliance with old King Peter, or the useful armed mediation of King Boatswain, who swore, that unless the Deys allowed the Americans to repose in peace, he "would quiet them effectually," as he had done once before, "by taking their heads from their shoulders." The military force of the infant Colony consisted of thirty men capable of bearing arms; their arsenal provided forty muskets, but no flints and little ammunition; and six pieces of artillery, only one of which, being mounted, was serviceable. By incredible exertions, however, and with the aid of some seasonable supplies, adequate means of defence were, ere long, provided. A Martello tower was built; the ordnance was planted at advantageous points, covered by stockades rendered musket-proof, and mutually connected by a pallisade; so that when King George advanced, in defiance of the menaces of King Boatswain, he met with a severe repulse, in which he was supposed to have lost several hundred men.

Notwithstanding their triumph, and the receipt of a friendly message from Prince Tam Bassa, a Chief of some distinction, the hopes of the settlers were not at this moment very highly elevated. Seven children were captives in the hands of the natives, and it was discovered that, exclusively of rice, there remained only fifteen days' provisions in the Store, and that an hour's engagement would bring their ammunition to an end. The fortunate arrival and the generous spirit of an English Trader ("Captain Brassey, of Liverpool, who, unsolicited and without prospect of remuneration, nearly exhausted his own stores,") relieved their pressing necessity, and enabled the Colonists, after his departure, to achieve a second and a still greater victory than that which they had already gained over the Deys. But a new distress awaited them; three of their little garrison were wounded, and neither surgeon nor surgical instruments were to be procured for their assistance; a dull penknife was the only lancet, and a piece of priming wire was the only probe which could be used, and the sufferings in consequence "were indescribably afflicting."

A second English vessel, however, which lay in the offing, had been attracted by the cannonade, and not only afforded immediate assistance, but so far succeeded in negotiating with the Deys as to procure their agreement to an unlimited Truce. The chief drawback upon the prospect of improvement then arose from the hopeless debility to which the Agent by whom the settlers were commanded was reduced. He was already dying, when his health was restored by the prescription of a French Quack, accidentally touching on the coast, who took the wise precaution of re-embarking immediately after he had administered the dose. The Agent struggled for two days under the influence of a *spoonful of calomel*, and, when he had dismissed it from the system, speedily regained his former health!

After the Colony had surmounted these first difficulties, its progress was rapid. In 1827 it extended nearly 150 miles along the coast, and a considerable distance into the interior, having already established eight trading stations. It could bring into the field 500 able-bodied troops; and the entire population, excepting the Governor, consisted of liberated Africans, or their children freeborn in the Settlement.

During the few intervals which occurred between meals, in a short stay at Cape Coast, Mr. Holman acquired some intelligence concerning the sanguinary War with the Ashantees, of which Mr. Bowdich has been the Historian, from individuals who had been personally engaged in it. It is not unnecessary to state the precise opportunities which were afforded for these communications, for we learn that the employment of each succeeding day

resembled that of the one which had gone before; that Mr. Holman breakfasted with Captain Hutchinson about seven o'clock, repeated his breakfast with the Governor at nine, sat down to a *relish* at one, and finished the evening by a meat-tea at six. In the fatal Battle of Essamacow, in which Sir Charles M'Carthy was killed, some great negligence must have occurred in the armourer's department. One of the only two surviving officers used to mention that the last three kegs which he opened in order to supply his troops with ammunition, which was failing, were found to contain macaroni; yet, among the valuable booty which became the prize of the savage conquerors, were not less than ten kegs of ball-cartridges. How formidable was the enemy with whom we had to contend may be estimated from the subsequent account of the Victory of Dodowah, which avenged the defeat at Essamacow, and in which our loss is said to have been *comparatively trifling*, not amounting to more than 800 killed and 1600 wounded. One of the spoils taken on this occasion was a head carefully enveloped in two wrappers of parchment, (the innermost of which was inscribed with Arabic characters,) and a final covering of tiger-skin, the Ashantee emblem of Royalty. A somewhat hasty conclusion was drawn that this relic was no other than the head of Sir Charles M'Carthy, to whom it was understood the honours of a Royal Funeral had been paid; and under that belief it was immediately shipped and despatched to England. After its departure, some prisoners disclosed that the head belonged, not to the English Governor, but to the Ashantee King, Osay Tootoo Quamina, and that it had been carried into the Battle (as the boiled bones of our own Edward used to precede the host destined against Scotland), in conformity with a prevailing usage.

We may terminate this portion of our subject with the following account of Ashantee warfare.

“ In the first place, we must suppose them to be encamped, with the intention of advancing to attack their enemy. They commence their operations by cutting a number of footpaths for a single person only to make his way through the bush; these paths are cut parallel, equidistant, and just within hearing. By these numerous paths they all advance in Indian file, until they arrive in front of the enemy, when they form in line, as well as circumstances will admit. Their arms and accoutrements consist of a musket without a bayonet, the lock of which is covered with a piece of leopard's, or some other skin, to protect it from the weather; a pouch tied round their waist, containing the powder, in about twenty or thirty small boxes of light wood, each having a single charge; a small bag of loose powder hanging down on the left side; and in addition to this, a keg or barrel of powder is carried for each party to replenish from when required. Their shot is langrage, composed of pieces of iron, lead, iron-stone (broken in small pieces), &c.

&c., and is carried loosely in a bag. The last of these materials is most generally used, as it is procured with facility, being found lying in great quantities on the surface of the earth. They load their muskets with a large charge of both powder and shot. In their buckskin belts they carry from six to twenty knives of various lengths, together with a cutlass or bill-hook, the former for cutting off heads, and the latter for clearing their way through the underwood. On arriving near the enemy, they cut a path transversely in front of those before mentioned, in which path they form their line, within twenty or thirty paces of the enemy, having a little brushwood in front for their protection. They then immediately commence firing through the intermediate bush. So soon as one of either party observes an opponent fall, he rushes forward and seizes him by the throat, when with great dexterity he separates the head from the body by means of one of his knives, and runs off with it to lay it at the feet of his captain. After the action is over, the captain collects all the heads that he has received, puts them into bowls, and causes them to be presented to the chief of the army."—pp. 228, 229.

Fernando Po appeared in sight on October 26. It presents very picturesque scenery in a circumference of about 120 miles. The Portuguese, on its first discovery in the latter part of the fifteenth century, established a Settlement upon it, which they afterwards exchanged with the Spaniards for Trinidad. Having been long neglected, it was recolonized by Spain in 1764, but was again abandoned after a few years occupation, in consequence of repeated disputes with the natives, to whom, until the expedition which Mr. Holman accompanied, it was altogether relinquished. The objects which induced the British Government to form a Settlement upon it in 1827, were the convenience which its site was likely to afford for checking the Slave-trade, in the very centre of which it is placed; its advantages as a depôt, from which communication might be maintained with Central Africa; and a hope that it might eventually supersede the necessity of any longer occupation of those graves of Europeans, Cape Coast Castle and Sierra Leone.

A friendly traffic was soon opened with the inhabitants, to whom the greatest attraction, as usual, was iron. The King of Baracoute, who paid the Eden an early visit, was hugely delighted with its live stock, among which both his Majesty and every member of his suite especially distinguished a cow, handling its tail, plucking out its hairs, and shaking it with signs of the most unfeigned pleasure and astonishment. The King's Brother capered with excess of joy when the ship's Band began to play; and the whole party was dismissed in much good humour, after a fitting distribution of presents. To the share of the King were apportioned six fishing-hooks, and an entire iron hoop straightened for the nonce. His brother received half as much; and each minor

Chief, after some little squabbling, was contented with about a foot's length of the same material.

When the intercourse had been once established, it proceeded according to the received habits of incipient Commerce. There was much thieving on one side; some flogging on the other. Contrary, however, to the custom of other wild Islanders, the Chiefs appear neither to have stolen in their own persons, nor to have protected robbery in their inferiors. Whenever a hue and cry was raised, the missing article was restored after sufficient time had been allowed for its discovery; and one delinquent, who jumped overboard with an axe, narrowly escaped with life, after a most severe beating. He was tied hand and foot to a tree, and the knife of one of the Chiefs was at his throat, when Captain Owen succeeded in making his executioner understand that he by no means wished for the infliction of so extreme a punishment. It was observed afterwards that many of the natives had lost one of their hands, some of them both—a mutilation which was suspected to result from the severity of their Penal Code.

The Fernando-Poians are represented to be a very harmless and inoffensive race, and (the Esquimaux excepted) “probably the most dirty people existing under the Sun;” for, with the exception of very occasional sea-bathing, they were never known to wash themselves. A new coating of clay and palm-oil seemed to answer the double purpose of dressing and cleansing. One Chief, (Chameleon, as he was named by the sailors,) a pre-eminent Dandy, frequently changed the colour of his skin, and “was in the habit of scenting himself.” The Women (who, as might be expected, are introduced by an apostrophe to “inartificial, unsophisticated, simple, barbarous and unadorned” Nature) are declared to be “fraught with peculiar interest.” Nevertheless, in their personal appearance they are by no means attractive; their faces resemble those of baboons, and their bodies are yet more scarified, tattooed, be-plastered and be-oiled than those of the men.

The general appearance of the Island is rocky and volcanic. One mountain (Clarence Peak) at the North-eastern extremity rises behind the spot chosen for the Settlement to the height of 10,655 feet above the level of the sea. The Southern part is the most mountainous. The soil, so far as it was investigated, was principally red clay, nine or ten feet in thickness, incumbent upon sandstone, in which fragments of lava are embedded. Luxuriant woods clothe the whole face of the country, even to within 300 or 400 feet of the highest summits. The timber is of great variety; the Indian-rubber tree (*Siphonia elastica*) is indigenous. Yams, plantains, a species of black pepper, the eddoe (a vegetable known in the West Indies as a substitute for spinach), and other

edible plants, are among its produce; and it is believed that nutmegs and cloves are to be met with. Monkeys are abundant, and are a favourite table delicacy. The only domestic animal is a very small red and white cur dog, which the natives eat. The seas afford great varieties of fish, better adapted to European appetites; and two species of turtle, the green and the hawksbill, frequent the shores.

On Christmas day a procession was formed from the entire Ship's Company, attended by Drums, Fifes and Bugles, which paraded the boundaries of *Clarence*, cheered two Proclamations issued by the Superintendent, hoisted a flag, and fired a feu-de-joie, to celebrate the formal occupation of the Settlement in the name and on behalf of George IV. Divine Service was then performed both on shipboard and on shore; and, *more Anglico*, the day concluded by a dinner given to the Officers of the Establishment by their Commander in the first house which had been erected on the Colony.

Towards the end of the following month, Mr. Holman embarked on board a schooner employed on a cruise for the prevention of the Slave-trade in the mouth of the river which enters the Bight of Biafra between the Camaroon and Cape Formosa. At Old Calabar, which was the first place of importance in his voyage, he was indulged with an introduction to *Duke Ephraim's* Harem.

“There were about sixty queens, besides little princes and princesses, with a number of slave-girls to wait upon them. His favourite queen, the handsomest of the royal party, was so large that she could scarcely walk, or even move; indeed they were all prodigiously large, their beauty consisting more in the mass of physique, than in the delicacy or symmetry of features or figure. This uniform tendency to *en bon point* on an unusual scale, was accounted for by the singular fact, that the female upon whom his majesty fixes his regards, is regularly fattened up to a certain standard, previously to the nuptial ceremony, it appearing to be essential to the queenly dignity that the lady should be enormously fat. We saw a very fine young woman undergoing this ordeal. She was sitting at a table, with a large bowl of farinaceous food, which she was swallowing as fast as she could pass the spoon to and from the bowl and her mouth.”—p. 363.

The Duke himself was a veteran slave-dealer; he possessed, and freely distributed some excellent Champagne, and exhibited with considerable pride a well-furnished wardrobe of fine clothes, although his ordinary costume was limited to a cotton cloth wrapped round his waist, and a white beaver hat edged with broad gold lace. His Palace, besides the Queen's Square and a mud hovel which is his own favourite residence, contains an excellent

wooden apartment called the *English House*, because it was sent out in frame, with carpenters to erect it, by Mr. Bold of Liverpool, formerly a merchant at Old Calabar. Within this State portion of the Ducal Château are arranged European furniture, mirrors, pictures, a quantity of cut glass, and a large brass arm-chair, weighing 160 pounds, with an inscription recording it to be a present from Sir John Tobin.

At Bonny, Mr. Holman was admitted to the honour of a *morning* audience by King Peppel, his Majesty making it a point to get drunk with Membo (palm-wine) at a stated hour every afternoon. The inhabitants of this district pay divine honours to the Guana, and on one occasion, when an animal of that species had been killed on board an English vessel, they suspended all trade, and sentenced the Captain, in a grand palaver, to the payment of 500 bars before they would consent to its renewal. Once in three years they sacrifice the handsomest girl who can be found in their territories as a peace-offering to the Jhu Jhu, or Evil Spirit, in order to avert the danger which, through his influence, besets vessels in passing the bar of their river. The victim is made to walk to the extremity of a plank, from which she is plunged into the water, and soon devoured by sharks. Happily the distinction is much coveted, for it is believed that the devoted Virgin becomes the bride of Jhu Jhu, and that she obtains the height of bliss according to Old Calabar notions; that is, according to their own description of the Paradise to which they affirm her to be translated, that she gets "large house more big than any in Liverpool, plenty copper-bar, plenty rum, plenty clothes."

Human sacrifices are common also at Funerals. At the obsequies of Duke Ephraim's brother, three men and three women, having been first stupified by intoxication, were hanged and placed in the Prince's grave; and a seventh, a young and favourite wife, reserved for a more horrible destiny, was thrown alive into the pit, which was immediately closed over the whole.

A series of original autograph Calabar Correspondence fell into the possession of Mr. Holman during a second visit which he paid to that river. All the letters were addressed to trading Captains on commercial subjects, and we shall select two from the mass, omitting those of Duke Ephraim, of Antega Ambo, and of Tom Duke.

"Dear my good friend Captain Halmaga Sir I have send you this letter to let you know that I send you 1 Goat and I send my Dear John to send me that Rum you promised me yeseday and I thank you to let me know what Hour you want me to come down to take my Trust.

"I am your Best friend

"King Eyo Honesty at Old Creek Town"

"My friend Captain Commins if you please send me that Rum I been beg you and thank you for lettle Beef too if you got any.

"Toby Tom Narrow."—p. 398.

King Eyo of Creek Town possesses a larger English house (furnished likewise by Mr. Bold) than Duke Ephraim, but he is more restricted in his conjugal establishment, having only twenty wives in all. The Duke occasionally sends for five-and-twenty of these ladies at a time, "just to entertain him." He is a great eater of foo-foo (pounded yams), which he rolls with his hands during meals into balls averaging two inches in diameter; but a wooden image, "the Doctor," which according to established custom is always carried about in his suite, frequently *taboos* various articles of food. At the time of Mr. Holman's visit he was forbidden to eat beef and fowls, but as the prohibition did not extend beyond himself, he did not scruple to order those delicacies to be sacrificed as offerings to the Evil Spirit, according to a precept of the native Creed, which teaches that "God is a good man, and will not hurt them; but the Devil is a bad man, and it is therefore necessary to appease him."

On June 3d, Mr. Holman bade farewell to Fernando Po with the intention of proceeding for Sierra Leone in any vessel which might be destined to the Brazils. Soon after crossing the Line he fell in with a Dutch Galliot bound for Rio de Janeiro, and, in spite of his helpless condition, he at once fearlessly transferred himself to the care of foreigners and total strangers, few of whom possessed even a small share of broken English. Fortunately, however, he found a Countryman in a fellow-passenger.

On his arrival at Rio, Mr. Holman proceeded up the country in company with Captain Lyon, who had the charge of a large establishment at Gongo Soco, belonging to the "Imperial, British, Brazilian Mining Company." Heat, cold, thirst and precipices; ticks, jiggers, and other bloodsuckers of the brushwood, were encountered without a complaint; and we leave Mr. Holman in safety at the end of his first volume enjoying comfortable quarters under the roof of the Government House at Gongo Soco. There is much no doubt which is highly creditable to him in his energy and his cheerfulness; but we greatly doubt whether he has not mistaken his path. Under his peculiar affliction, to know how to resign with grace is far better than to strive for that which can be attained at best only in degree and most imperfectly. Whenever Poker Pictures or single-stringed Concertos shall obtain any value beyond that afforded by their triumph over difficulty, a blind traveller may hope to enjoy a more than comparative repute. Till that time he must be content to re-

member that his unhappy privation presents an insurmountable obstacle to the attainment of more than a subordinate station in the line which he has chosen; for that there are certain pursuits for which Nature loudly and distinctly proclaims the necessity of full organic powers, and warns all who undertake them,

“*Nec SURDUM nec TEIRESIAM quenquam esse DEORUM.*”

- ART. X.—1. *Outline of a System of National Education*. London: Cochrane and M'Crone. 1834. 8vo. pp. 350.
2. *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia; addressed to the Count de Montalivet, Peer of France, Minister of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs*. By M. Victor Cousin, Peer of France, Councillor of State, Professor of Philosophy, Member of the Institute, and of the Royal Council of Public Instruction. Translated by Sarah Austin. London: Wilson, Royal Exchange. Dublin: Wakeman. Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes. 1834. 8vo. pp. 333.
3. *The Church Establishment inconsistent with the Spirit of Christianity, and the well-being of the Community, a Discourse delivered at Finsbury Chapel, South Place, Moorfields, on Sunday, March 16, 1834. To which is added, a Copy of the Petition to Parliament from the Members of the Congregation*. By W. J. Fox. London: C. Fox. 1834. 8vo. pp. 15.

OUR readers, we hope, will not be frightened, although they may have some cause. We are only going to say a very few words by way of postscript to the enormous article inflicted upon them in our last number; first offering two or three remarks upon the volumes, of which we have given the titles; and then just alluding to the state in which the question of National Education is now placed.

The “*Outline of a System of National Education*” appears to be written by one of those marvellously shallow, and marvellously conceited theorists, who are now becoming a “pretty considerable” pest. We cannot express or feel any boiling indignation at the offensive tendency of the book; because, even while it awakens our spleen, we are compelled to smile at its helpless imbecility. It belongs to that school by which either truisms the most obvious and common-place, or fallacies the most rotten and puerile, are set forth with an elaborate display of technical phrases, and a formal travesty of logical precision. Principles which might supply fuel for unextinguishable laughter are ar-

rayed in "good set terms," the most priggish and pedantic in the world.

The author, however, we are happy to say, has the honesty and the courage to speak his mind. He "*goes the whole hog*," without wincing or equivocating. He is a sweeping, unsparing, comprehensive reformer, who kindly takes under his care the whole rising generation of the kingdom, rich and poor, and, we suppose, male and female.

We shall quote a few of his propositions in their naked beauty; being grieved, at the same time, that we must deprive our readers of the benefit and amusement to be derived from his reasonings.

"I propose then, first, that in each county some common be enclosed, the larger the better; or where that is not possible, some estate be purchased; and that on it a large school or schools be built, in which the children of the county, from the age of five and upwards, may be instructed, and maintained, and clothed, at the public expense."—*Outline*, &c. p. 18.

"The school-house should be built solidly, and without ornament; not to please the eye of visitors, but to ensure the health and comfort of its inmates; *yet of fine proportions*. We should early accustom the child to beauty. The Scuola di San' Rocco, at Venice, possesses some of the best of Tintoretto's pictures. I would, though it is a vain wish, that the walls of the dining halls could be adorned with the finest pictures of the greatest masters, consecrated to great men; and those of the school-room, with others on subjects connected with science and the arts, as the School of Athens by Raphael, &c."—*Ib.* p. 20.

"The children should be received into the school at five years of age; for the first ten years none should be admitted *above* that age."—*Ibid.* p. 21.

"II. That the children be kept at school till the age of (17)?"—*Ib.*

We cannot be surprised at this note of interrogation; because, from the subjoined paragraphs it would appear that the vast majority of the *élèves* of our philosophical educationist must be kept at school, not merely till the age of seventeen, but during the whole period of their mortal lives; and that still, although they may die at a very advanced period, their training will be incomplete.

"We must avoid these errors of half-education. The child must be retained at school, not only till he can read, but read with profit to himself; not only till he can comprehend opinions, but has been taught how to form them, and to judge of their truth and error:—*till the habit and the love of good are so deeply and so firmly rooted in him, that he is firm against all the fallacies of appetite and the covert attacks of selfishness;—till, in a word, his reason begins to claim over the rest of his powers its fair supremacy, and to build up his morals into morality, his acquirements*

into knowledge, and the chance joys of his happy temperament into a calm and soul-deep beatitude."

The following remarks upon the *dress* of the future hopes of England are so important, so useful, so characterized by sound sense, and acute discrimination, and profundity, and truth, that it would be a crying injustice not to give them entire.

"III. That they be clothed decently. The materials of their dress, though not expensive, may be tasteful, and its shape elegant.

"These seem small matters, '*hæ nugæ in seria ducunt.*' Life is made up of trifles, and trifles ever recurring have no little influence on character.

"We clothe our charity boys in a drugget, with which no gentleman would carpet the room of a servant. Can we hope that the child should grow up with any generous or noble thought, whose first feeling is, that he is an object of interest only as he is an object of expense? Whose mean parish livery at each moment presses upon him the withering consciousness that he is degraded below the free ranks of man? Even the dirty urchin, who eats his half-meal in ragabond freedom, prefers his tatters to this livery; even he, wretched as he is, taunts this object of parish bounty, and his most cutting sneer is the truth—'out, charity boy!' Yes, they are charity boys; they wince under no taunt, they smile before the contempt to which they are accustomed: therefore is a change most necessary. Man, if he is the noblest of God's works, may also be the most degraded; but woe to those who so degrade him! They it is who blaspheme the Deity, treading under foot his earthly image, and who violate his sanctuary, desecrating it to all mean and profane uses. Yet these men prate of their humanity! They would better prove their wisdom, did they, following the ancient practice of a not uncivilized people, rather expose these victims of their bounty to the mercy of heaven, than nourish them up without self-respect, and the feeling and the love of virtue.

"But change his dress, and the parish youth is still a charity boy."

"True; but we first respect ourselves, because others respect us. As a general rule it may be asserted, that the Pariahs, the despised classes of society, are always of low and debased minds, and this because they are Pariahs.

"Now, is not much of the odium against the charity-boy owing to his dress? Give him a costume lively, agreeable, picturesque, and would not the feeling towards him be changed? Would he not, meeting with love and respect from others, in return love others and respect himself? In all sea-port towns, are not the children of the gentry all eager to enter the navy? The mid's dagger and pretty coat form half the attraction. Of the poor to become cabin boys? And have not the neat shirt-collar, the tight vest, the curled lock, and the loose trowser, some share in their wish?

"It is, besides, desirable that our National School educate not only the sons of the labouring class, but the sons also of tradesmen and gentlemen. The dress, which is of course uniform, must therefore be one which neither excites the derision and contempt of the richer youths, (that would

spread discontent and disunion throughout the school,) nor leads to any odious comparison in favour of the dress of home."—*Outline*, &c. pp. 25—27.

For the rest, that the reader may learn how the pupils are "to be *well* and *suitably* educated;" how they are to be drilled and taught to dance; how "*children are very apt to pilfer, particularly eatables*;" how morals are to be instilled by sundry new and miraculous methods; how "*learning is historical, knowledge scientific*;" and how the members of the next generation may become prodigies of perfection in ability and virtue, we must refer him to the work itself, if he has now any appetite for its perusal.

Of course, no human being will feel surprise that a sage, like the one before us, whose practical wisdom, whose enlarged and enlightened views, whose calm and majestic dignity of mind, our few extracts will make sufficiently manifest, should look down with sarcastic incredulity and ineffable contempt upon things so poor, and pitiful, and obsolete as the doctrines and the ethics of Christianity; that in his awful eyes humility is an abomination; that

"Besides this of humility, there are other precepts which corrupt our civil and political morality. These are, *obedience to the powers that be, and patience under injuries*."—*Outline*, &c. p. 259.

that

"Christian patriots hold neither the character nor the nobility of those of the olden world. And that little Athens, in its short life, has produced for Humanity more and greater names than Christian Europe in its career of centuries."—*Ib.* p. 265.

and that

"Our next generation should be otherwise taught, though many generations must pass away ere a high moral, and a noble spirit animate our people."—*Ib.* p. 266.

To discuss such trash seriously would be to confer upon it an honour most undeserved; garnished though it be with a multitude of long citations from foreign writers, and, more particularly, from the metaphysicians of Germany. Yet even this book is among the signs of the times. And it is serious, that there are men among us, of some energy and talent, who entertain almost similar sentiments, although they do not put them forth in so ridiculous a shape; and who nourish almost similar wishes, although they do not think the time as yet quite ripe for declaring them.

Of Mrs. Austin's translation and abridgment of M. Cousin's report, we would speak in other terms. It is not inferior to the preceding labours of that very clever lady. Its execution is equally happy; but we doubt much whether, from the nature of the

design, the undertaking will become equally popular. Mrs. Austin, we apprehend, will learn from experience, how much easier it is to import thoughts than to transplant habits; how much more feasible to translate words from language to language, than to transfer institutions from country to country.

The preface, although it holds out a sort of challenge, shall not betray us into controversy. When Mrs. Austin has extended and deepened her acquaintance with the actual relations and entanglements of the whole question, she will find that the objections, with which she has grappled, to the introduction of the Prussian system, or any similar system of state-education, into England, are not the *real* objections forcibly and clearly stated;—and that to the great and insurmountable impediments which practically present themselves in the British empire, she has not even alluded.

The style, however, is temperate and peculiarly pleasing; and with the following observations we heartily concur:—

“ It seems to me, too, that we are guilty of great inconsistency as to the ends and objects of education. How industriously have not its most able and zealous champions been continually instilling into the mind of the people, that education is the way to advancement, that ‘ knowledge is power,’ that a man cannot ‘ better himself ’ without some learning! And then we complain, or we fear, that education will set them above their station, disgust them with labour, make them ambitious, envious, dissatisfied! We must reap as we sow: we set before their eyes objects the most tempting to the desires of uncultivated men, we urge them on to the acquirement of knowledge by holding out the hope that knowledge will enable them to grasp these objects:—if their minds are corrupted by the nature of the aim, and imbibed by the failure which *must* be the lot of the mass, who is to blame?

“ If, instead of nurturing expectations which cannot be fulfilled, and turning the mind on a track which must lead to a sense of continual disappointment, and thence of wrong, we were to hold out to our humbler friends the appropriate and attainable, nay, unfailing, ends of a *good* education;—the gentle and kindly sympathies; the sense of self-respect and of the respect of fellow-men; the free exercise of the intellectual faculties; the gratification of a curiosity that ‘ grows by what it feeds on ’ and yet finds food for ever; the power of regulating the habits and the business of life, so as to extract the greatest possible portion of comfort out of small means; the refining and tranquillizing enjoyment of the beautiful in nature and art, and the kindred perception of the beauty and nobility of virtue; the strengthening consciousness of duty fulfilled; and, to crown all, ‘ the peace which passeth all understanding; ’—if we directed their aspirations this way, it is probable that we should not have to complain of being disappointed, nor they of being deceived. Who can say that wealth can purchase better things than these? and who can say that they are not within the reach of every man of sound body and mind, who, by labour not destructive of either, can procure for

himself and his family food, clothing and habitation?'—*Preface*, p. xvi.—xviii.

There is also, we apprehend, much truth in the subjoined statement:—

“There are two or three other points which I would fain recommend to the peculiar attention of the reader. One of the most important is the absolute necessity of securing a constant supply of well-trained school-masters. *Time and experience have, it is to be supposed, nearly removed the illusion of ‘mutual instruction’ as a substitute for the instruction communicated by a mature to an immature mind: as an auxiliary in certain mechanical details, no one disputes its utility.*”—*Preface*, p. xviii.

Still, as to the main end for which Mrs. Austin has undertaken this translation, we are so far from believing it likely to be attained, that we think the publication may have an effect quite contrary to the one intended. Upon ourselves at least the deliberate perusal of M. Cousin's Report in an English dress has only produced a still stronger conviction of the inapplicability of the Prussian scheme to a country circumstanced like our own. For when we come to section the second, upon primary instruction, we light at once upon a difference quite conclusive.

“**TITLE I.**—*Duty of Parents to send their Children to the primary Schools.*—This duty is so national, so rooted in all the legal and moral habits of the country, that it is expressed by a single word *Schulpflichtigkeit* (school-duty, or school-obligation). It corresponds to another word, similarly formed and similarly sanctioned by public opinion, *Dienstpflichtigkeit* (service-obligation, *i. e.* military-service.”)—p. 23, 24.

A people, which has learnt to prefer “military conscription” to “voluntary enlistment,” will, of course, not be very squeamish as to compulsory education, or any other sort of compulsion under the sun.

We turn, however, to the question of education in its actual state among ourselves.

The government has made another grant of 20,000*l.* and all parties have been thankful; and the nation will be well repaid. The progress of popular education, upon its present footing, is satisfactory. In the late examination at the schools of the National Society in London, nothing, we believe, could be well more gratifying than the success of the efforts which have been made for training masters and mistresses, or than the accuracy of the information which the children displayed. Some enlargement in the sphere of instruction might still perhaps be desirable; for, although we perfectly agree with M. Cousin, where he says, p. 287, “let solidity *rather* than extent be aimed at in the course of instruction; the young masters” (and learners too, we would add,)

" must know a few things fundamentally, rather than many superficially ; vague and superficial attainments must be avoided at any rate ;" we must yet repeat our persuasion, that a contracted scope of education has a tendency to contract not only the mind which acquires, but the knowledge which is gained of the few acquirements themselves ; and that, if more things were learnt, every one of them would be learnt better.

Still, our main concern is, and must ever be, the *religious* instruction of the people, and the connection of the education of the country with the Established Church of the country. Here, the possible imputation of bigotry shall not prevent us from expressing our apprehensions. At present, the Lord Chancellor and his colleagues evince no desire to tear the business, or the superintendence, of instruction out of the hands of the clergy ; but whom or what can we trust ? Our hope is gone—utterly, irretrievably gone—of strength or firmness in the actual ministers of the crown. The external pressure of Dissenters and Utilitarians,—persons more powerful than themselves, because more decided in their opinions, and more strenuous in the prosecution of their purposes,—will force them onward, we begin to think, to their own and to the country's destruction. Miserable men ! why will they not make a stand while there is yet time ? But to return,—Mr. Roebuck, on the 3rd June, made his annual motion, that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the means of establishing a system of national education. He talked, as a matter of course, about "*the slavish bigotry and intolerance that prevail at present in the national schools ;*" and he would educate all the children of the country, from the highest to the lowest, upon a far nobler and more philosophical model. Lord Morpeth half agreed and half disagreed with the honorable mover ; and, although he proposed an amendment, " could not conceal his opinion, that there was somewhat too *stiff, distinct, and separate*, in the system of education pursued at these schools, excellent as it was, for any *final arrangement that could deserve the name of national*. Some plan would be necessary that should fill up the voids, and imperceptibly fuse into some more general and comprehensive system, the valuable parts of those which were now in operation. He *would not contend for any particular catechism*, or for any work proceeding from human hands ; but he did propose to himself that those who were admitted to such schools should have open and unlimited access to the entire contents of the sacred volume."

This is precisely the sort of language which men, who are clever in a small way, and who pique themselves on their liberality, are in the habit of talking. "*Too stiff, distinct, and separate,*" "*final arrangement,*" "*would not contend for any particular catechism, or*

for any work proceeding from human hands." What does Lord Morpeth mean? Does his Lordship exactly know his own meaning? Has he ever thought of the inferences and concessions which his propositions involve? Is the church, instead of being "*stiff*," to be so pliant and accommodating as to embrace all tenets as eagerly as its own? or are all kinds of dissent to be philosophically "*fused*" together into some new and wonderful concoction of doctrines and discipline? and when the fusion takes place, and the precious amalgam is produced, what is to become of the established religion of the empire?

The result of the debate was, that Lord Althorp, slightly modifying Lord Morpeth's amendment, proposed a resolution, which was adopted by the House, "that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the education of the people in England and Wales, and into the application and effect of the grant made last session for the erection of school-houses, and to consider the expediency of further grants in aid of education." No pledge was given, which could commit the ministers to the Benthamites; nor would the House accede to Mr. Roebuck's proposition, that the word "*national*" should be inserted in the resolution; but still,—ungrateful that we are,—sundry and sharp misgivings shoot across our minds.

The more narrowly we inspect and watch the process of speculations and events, the more painfully are our suspicions awakened as to the effect which the new fangled projects of our system-mongers will exert upon Christianity. There is a vast deal said in praise of Religion and her ministers; but the respect paid to them is couched in very vague and unsatisfactory expressions. Once for all, let it be understood, 1st, that we want *positive, established, acknowledged forms of religion*:—and not vague indefinite *sentiments* of religion; which, of themselves, are sure to evaporate, in the heat of business and passion, like an unconfined and volatile ether, or an aromatic distillation without a vessel to contain it:—and, 2ndly, that Religion must be recognized, not on the ground of its *utility*, or *political expediency*, on any bearings which it has upon our *social* relations; but on the ground of its *individual necessity*, and its *spiritual truth*.

On both these accounts, while we would by no means denounce M. Cousin's plan as *anti-religious*, we shall not be deterred from saying, that we are very far from contented with the tone in which he speaks of religion. Mrs. Austin says,

"It has been asserted by some persons, with an ignorance which, if it be sincere, is so shameless that it almost deserves to be confounded with dishonesty, that the tendency of the system recommended by M. Cousin is *anti-religious*. To this, every page of the book is an answer.

Indeed, were I to express a fear on this head, it is, that it is far too religious for this country; that the lofty, unworldly tone of feeling, the spirit of veneration, the blending of the love of God, and of the Good and the Beautiful, with all the practical business and the amusements of life, is what will hardly be understood here, where religion is so much more disjoined both from the toils and from the gaieties of life. To me it appears that there is not a line of these enactments which is not profoundly religious. Nothing, it is true, is *enjoined as to forms or creeds*; but, as M. Cousin truly says, ‘the whole fabric rests on the sacred basis of Christian love.’—p. xv.

Christian love is, of all things, the most beautiful; but it is just for the sake of Christian love that we would insist upon a “sound *form*” of Christian “words.” But let M. Cousin speak for himself.

“We must neither deliver over our committees into the hands of the clergy, nor exclude them; we must admit them, because they have a right to be there, and to represent the religion of the country. The men of good sense, good manners, and of consideration in their neighbourhood, of whom these committees ought to be, and will be, composed, will gradually gain ascendancy over their ecclesiastical colleagues, by treating them with the respect due to their sacred functions. We must have the clergy; we must neglect nothing to bring them into the path towards which everything urges them to turn,—both their obvious interest, and their sacred calling, and the antient services which their order rendered to the cause of civilization in Europe. But if we wish to have the clergy allied with us in the work of popular instruction, that instruction must not be stripped of morality and religion; for then indeed it would become the duty of the clergy to oppose it, and they would have the sympathy of all virtuous men, of all good fathers of families, and even of the mass of the people, on their side. Thank God, Sir, *you are too enlightened a statesman* to think that true popular instruction can exist without moral education, popular morality without religion, or popular religion without a church. Christianity ought to be the basis of the instruction of the people; we must not flinch from the open profession of this maxim; *it is no less politic than it is honest.*”—p. 125, 126.

“*The popular schools of a nation ought to be imbued with the religious spirit of that nation.* Now without going into the question of diversities of doctrine, is Christianity, or is it not, the religion of the people of France? It cannot be denied that it is. I ask, then, is it our object to respect the religion of the people, or to destroy it? If we mean to set about destroying it, then, I allow, we ought by no means to have it taught in the people’s schools. But if the object we propose to ourselves is totally different, we must teach our children that religion which civilized our fathers; that religion whose liberal spirit prepared, and can alone sustain, all the great institutions of modern times. We must also permit the clergy to fulfil their first duty,—the superintendence of religious instruction. But in order to stand the test of this superintendence with honor, the schoolmaster must be enabled to give adequate religious

instruction ; otherwise parents, in order to be sure that their children receive a good religious education, will require us to appoint ecclesiastics as schoolmasters, which, though assuredly better than having irreligious schoolmasters, would be liable to very serious objections of various kinds. *The less we desire our schools to be ecclesiastical*, the more ought they to be Christian. It necessarily follows, that there must be a course of special religious instruction in our normal schools. Religion is, in my eyes, the best—perhaps, the only—basis of popular education. I know something of Europe, and never have I seen good schools where the spirit of Christian charity was wanting. Primary instruction flourishes in three countries, Holland, Scotland, and Germany ; in all it is profoundly religious. It is said to be so in America. The little popular instruction I ever found in Italy came from the priests. In France, with few exceptions, our best schools for the poor are those of the *Frères de la Doctrine Chrétienne* (Brothers of the Christian doctrine.)—p. 289.

“ I am not ignorant, Sir, that this advice will grate on the ears of many persons, and that I shall be thought extremely *dévot* at Paris. Yet it is not from Rome, but from Berlin, that I address you. The man who holds this language to you is a philosopher, formerly disliked, and even persecuted, by the priesthood ; but this philosopher has a mind too little affected by the recollection of his own insults, and is too well acquainted with human nature and with history, not to regard religion as an indestructible power ; *genuine Christianity, as a means of civilization for the people*, and a necessary support for those on whom society imposes irksome and humble duties, without the slightest prospect of fortune, without the least gratification of self-love.”—p. 291, 292.

Now, although these declarations are most true and consolatory as far as they go, we confess that we cannot read them without an unpleasant impression, that the author is *striving* to write religiously, and to gain credit for the effort, and yet wishing to shew, nevertheless, that he is religious as a statesman and as a philosopher, and not so “ extremely *dévot* ” after all. There is much about the public services rendered by religion to the state ; and, in return, the support due from the State to the Religion which consolidates and consecrates its institutions : but about man’s personal need of a faith in Christianity, in order to his spiritual interests and his final salvation, there is not a syllable.—Religion is recommended almost entirely upon the low, miserable, utilitarian ground.

It is never without a painful uneasiness that we see the utility of Christianity put forward in the van of the battle. Of the utility of Christianity we have, indeed, no shadow of doubt ; and we think that this utility may be fairly urged as an argument in behalf of its truth. All religion is useful as far as it is true, and true as far as it is useful. Even Paganism is true, wherever Paganism is useful. All religions are useful, where they coincide

with Christianity; but where they deviate from it, they are injurious to that public and private happiness which Christianity promotes.

Yet all these are but incidental and collateral points. As reasons in support of Christianity, they are *nothing*. Its utility for time is as a drop of water to the boundless ocean of its truth for eternity. It is to be defended, not simply as *the religion of the country*: if a philosophical Deism were the religion of this country to-morrow, we should defend Christianity and its necessity in the work of education as earnestly as now.

Yet the same *general*, or *political*, or *philosophical*, or *sentimental* way of speaking about religion is becoming far too prevalent. Mr. Bulwer thus proclaims *his* sentiments in language not altogether without its beauty, notwithstanding the deplorable shallowness and indistinctness of the thoughts:—

“Ambition—Glory—Love—exercise so vast an influence over the affairs of earth, because they do not rest upon the calculations of reason alone; because they are supported by all that constitutes the ideal of life, and drink their youth and vigour from the inspiring fountains of the heart. If religion is to be equally powerful in its effects—if it is to be a fair competitor with more wordly rivals—if its office is indeed to combat and counterbalance the Titan passions which, for ever touching earth, for ever take from earth new and gigantic life—if it is to

‘Allure to brighter worlds, and lead the way,’

—it must call around itself all the powers we can raise; to defeat the passions, the passions must feed it; it can be no lukewarm and dormant principle, hedged in and crippled by that reason, which, in our actions, fetters nothing else. It has nothing to do with rationalism; it must be a sentiment, an emotion, for ever present with us—pervading, colouring, and exalting all. Sensible of this, the elder propagators of all creeds endeavour to connect them, equally as love and glory, with the poetry of life. *Religion wanes from a nation, as poetry vanishes from religion. The creeds of states, like their constitutions, to renew their youth, must return to their first principles.* It is necessary for us at this time to consider deeply on these truths; for many amongst us, most anxious, perhaps, to preserve religion, are for ever attempting to attenuate its powers. *Rationality and Religion are as much contradictions in terms as Rationality and Love. Religion is but love with a sacred name, and for a sacred object—it is the love of God.* Philosophy has no middle choice; it can decide only between scepticism and ardent faith.”—*England and the English*, vol. i. pp. 321, 322.

A far greater man than Mr. Bulwer has slipped into a somewhat similar strain, when describing the celebrated institution of Mr. Fellenberg at Hofwyl:—

“There is one other subject which is ever present to their minds; I

mean a pure and rational theology. Mr. Fellenberg is deeply imbued himself with the sense of religion ; and it enters into all his schemes for the improvement of society. Regarding the state of misery in which the poorest classes live, as rather calculated (if I may use his own expression) to make them believe in the agency of a devil than of a God, his first care, upon rescuing those children from that wretchedness, is to inspire them with the feelings of devotion which he himself warmly entertains, and which he regards as natural to the human heart, when misery has not chilled nor vice hardened it. Accordingly, the conversation, as well as the habits of the poor at Hofwyl, partake largely of *religious influence*. *The evidences of design observable in the operations of nature, and the benevolent tendency of those operations in the great majority of instances, form constant topics of discourse in their studies, and during the labours of the day ; and though no one has ever observed the slightest appearance of fanaticism or of superstition (against which, in truth, the course of instruction pursued is the surest safeguard)* yet ample testimony is borne by all travellers to the prevailing piety of the place. One of these has noted an affecting instance of it, when the harvest once required the labourers to work for an hour or two after night-fall, and the full moon rose in extraordinary beauty over the magnificent mountains that surround the plain of Hofwyl. Suddenly, as if with one accord, the poor children began to chaunt a hymn which they had learnt among many others, but in which the Supreme Being is adored as having ‘lighted up the great lamp of the night, and projected it in the firmament.’—*Appendix to Mr. Brougham’s Letter*, p. 99.

This is a touching incident, very finely told. But, alas, nothing at all resembling it is likely to occur in our crowded cities, where there are no mountains to behold, and where the young and poor too often find occupations in the evening very different from admiring the moon. Natural Religion, such as this, which in its practical influence is extremely feeble always and every where, can have no power whatever in places, from which man has excluded nature. It is one subordinate proof of Christianity, that nothing else than a revealed and positive creed is sufficient, *in the slightest degree*, to fix the principles or restrain the passions of human beings, whenever they are congregated in dense and fermenting multitudes.

Not so thinks the reverend gentleman, whose discourse we have joined with the anonymous “Outline,” and Mrs. Austin’s translation. He is implacably at war with creeds and liturgies:—

“What,” he asks, “what more is there throughout the New Testament, than the broadest and simplest principle as the basis of truth ; and the utmost latitude of choice in worship, so that prayer was but the heart’s desire, and thanksgiving the grateful melody of the soul ? Such an attempt is alike false to the nature of man and the nature of Christianity. It is a total mistake or perversion of that in which religion consists. Christianity is *too fine and ethereal* an essence to be

thus exhibited in a hard, *defined, tangible* form ; crystallized as it were, and presented to the senses ; instead of pervading the mental and moral constitution, as do the great and viewless influences of the material universe. When, and where, did the great teacher, who best knew how to teach, bring forth creeds and articles, containing abstract propositions by dozens and hundreds ?"—*The Church Establishment*, &c. p. 7.

These poor and flimsy cavils are too threadbare to need exposure ; yet we fear that minds, which *cannot*, surely, be deceived by their sophistry, suffer themselves to be caught by their treacherous liberality.

In a word, there is not one among these extracts,—some of which, as M. Cousin's, lead only to political religion ; some, as Mr. Brougham's, only to natural religion ; some, as Mr. Bulwer's, only to the most vague and fantastic superstitions,—which surveys Christianity in its right aspect, and “ renders unto God the things that are God's.” Nor do we scruple to re-affirm that almost all we hear, and almost all we read, and almost all we see, assure us more and more that there is no security for the sound religion of the country apart from the ecclesiastical establishment of the country ; and yet, not only that an attempt will be made to divorce and force asunder the National Education from the Established Church, but that National Education will be used as an instrument to strike the first blow at the Church Establishment. For is there no danger ? It is, we solemnly believe, the very danger to be apprehended. A Commission of Inquiry as to the Revenues of the Church in Ireland is already set on foot. Of course, a surplus will be found :—it is the object of the commission to find a surplus. And what is to be done with it ? The ministers,—more especially Lord Brougham,—deny, with an extraordinary vehemence of adjuration, any intention or disposition to bestow the minutest fragment of it upon the Catholic Clergy. But it is to be devoted to the purposes of an indiscriminate education, open to all sects alike, and putting all sects on an equality. Such is our conjecture ; and we know that, as to ecclesiastical funds, both Irish and English, it is the wish and hope of the Dissenters. Mr. W. J. Fox, the Unitarian divine, the oracle, we understand, of Miss Martineau, in language, *imposing* from its rhetoric, but *contemptible* in its logic, says :—

“ If the legislature should apply to the purposes of a strictly national education an adequate portion of the fund now wasted on no earthly purpose of usefulness, we may indeed anticipate an era of true glory for our country. After the claims of the present life-possessioners are satisfied, there is nothing which can fairly impede so righteous an appropriation. Providence endowed the nation with this noble inheritance. Theology is

too divided to possess it for national purposes. What claim, then, is there to which that of National Education is not paramount? This would, indeed, be an establishment of Christianity in the only sense in which Christianity can consistently be established. Instruction, free instruction, might be brought home to every door. In fact, *it should be obligatory*; giving the parent the option, of himself, or by private instruction, of educating his child in preference."—p. 12.

The discourse is entitled, "The Church Establishment inconsistent with the Spirit of Christianity, and the *well-being* of the Community."

We should be glad to quote more of it, and show that it contains some fine strong language, some extremely clever images and illustrations; for the Sectarians know the value and the power of style, and scorn the bald jejune stuff, which some of us Churchmen call simplicity and adaptation to the vulgar understanding. As to its argument, however, nothing in the world can be so unfair or so preposterous; as to its exhibition of Scriptural doctrine or ecclesiastical polity, nothing in the world can be so so outrageously mistaken.

But we must stop. We have only room to extract part of a petition appended to the Sermon, which was presented to the House of Commons from "the Protestant Dissenters *of both sexes*, assembling in South Place Chapel, Finsbury, of which the Rev. W. J. Fox is Minister." We do entreat our readers to weigh and digest the extracts well; to bear in mind that one main object of all the Dissenters is the spoliation and subversion of the Church under the pretence of instruction for the people:—and to recollect, that we are beset by active and intriguing enemies, governed by vacillating coquetting ministers, and sometimes embarrassed by timid compromising friends.

"That the adoption of Christianity as a State Religion has impaired the purity, and impeded the progress, of its principles; has promoted despotism, persecution, and bloodshed; has brought suspicion and contempt upon the character of its Ministers, and contravened its beneficent object of advancing "Peace on earth and good-will amongst men."

"That the investiture of any sect with exclusive political privileges is utterly at variance with the spirit of the Christian religion; obstructs the intellectual and moral improvement of the people; is detrimental to the public peace and the harmony of social intercourse; invades the civil rights of individuals, and tends to subvert the liberties and prosperity of the nation.

"That the appropriation by the Episcopal Church of the funds which the pious munificence of our ancestors set apart for the relief of the poor and the spiritual culture of the entire population, is totally inconsistent with the accomplishment of those purposes, and deprives the

community of its intended heritage of gratuitous and universal instruction ; your Petitioners, therefore, respectfully submit to your Honourable House that, in the present state of religious opinion and of society, *the most legitimate application of those funds, after due provision for their present recipients, would be the establishment of a wise, liberal and comprehensive plan of National Education.*"—pp. 14, 15.

- ART. XI.—1. *A Discourse on the Studies of the University.* By Adam Sedgwick, M. A., F. R. S., Woodwardian Professor, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge, Deightons: London, Parker. 1833.
2. *Thoughts on the Admission of Persons, without regard to their Religious Opinions, to certain Degrees in the Universities of England.* By Thomas Turton, D. D., Reg. Prof. of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and Dean of Peterborough. London: Rivingtons; Parker. 1834.
3. *On the Admission of Dissenters to reside and graduate at the Universities.* By the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deightons and Stevenson. 1834.
4. *Some Remarks on the Dean of Peterborough's Tract.* By Samuel Lee, D. D., Reg. Prof. of Hebrew, &c. Cambridge: Deightons. 1834.
5. *A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Turton, D. D.* By Connop Thirlwall, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge, Deightons: London, Rivingtons. 1834.
6. *Remarks on Mr. Thirlwall's Letter.* By William Whewell, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Rivingtons. 1834.
7. *A Letter to Earl Grey on the Admission of Dissenters to the Universities.* By W. Sewell, M. A., late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.
8. *Extracts from Examination Papers.* By W. Selwyn, M. A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

WE half reproach ourselves with neglect, as we refer our readers to the eloquent address which we have placed at the head of our article.

We are conscious, that to many, if not to most of them, it has become familiar, and that by them it has been long since read with

pleasure and with profit. The reputation of its author has always been great in the scientific world; but the part he has recently taken in a question of vital importance has given to this address a peculiar interest; and can we now say, that its perusal has been attended with unmingled delight? do we not now feel that it has been mixed with anxiety, as we have dwelt upon the passing and the past? and have we not with tenfold eagerness desired to look into the gloomy future?

Had we noticed this address when first it appeared, with what different feelings should we have dwelt upon that glowing language, in which the studies of the University are so nobly set forth! We should have placed our readers, where imagination has already placed us, in that Chapel of the monuments of the illustrious dead, amidst a youthful and rapt congregation, listening with profound attention to the words of one, who has ever possessed, and, what is still better, has ever deserved, their affectionate esteem; and who is the ornament as well of the University as of his College. And we should have pointed out the preacher as one, who, although greatly zealous in the pursuit of scientific truth, valued far higher than all other, religious truth; and who would have sacrificed his very existence, rather than that, through his means, any one of those whom he addressed, should have wandered from, or wavered in his attachment to, the pure faith of that Church whose doctrines he was then inculcating. And yet, it is with grievous disappointment we confess it, how fallible our judgment would have been, when we find it admitted, that in a moment of disappointment he lent his name to a scheme, nay, was one of its authors, which might have for its result the destruction of the Church of which he is a member and a minister; and the promulgation of which scheme has thrown into present wrathful contention the University, the peace of which he so recklessly endangered, has greatly interrupted the studies of its youthful members,* and has been the fruitful cause of a schism, which has split into adverse factions the college to which he belongs.

The evils produced by that ill advised petition are tremendous; it is the first step to the separation of Church and State. And that separation implies the downfall of them both, the consequent destruction of religious knowledge, first among the lower classes, and then the upper; and lastly, it will be followed by the lowering of infidelity over the land.

These latter awful consequences, we admit, are dependent upon the abolition of an Established Church; but, we assert, that once

* We observe that neither the Members' Prizes nor the Chancellor's Prize for the best English Poem have been awarded this year.

having thrown open the doors of the Universities to Dissenters of every class, and having modified the discipline and lectures to suit their various creeds—for modification there must be, or the scheme will be ineffectual—having placed the Churchman and the Dissenter upon an equal footing during their under-graduateship—how long, we ask, can the Universities refuse to continue their equality when they have taken their degree? how long will the members of the Church of England retain the exclusive right of election to Fellowships and College Offices? can we not hear, and have we not already heard, the outcry raised for the emoluments of the Universities, and can we not almost foresee a remodelling of our Colleges; a separation of Fellowships from Livings for the use of Dissenters; an Arian Tutor here, an Unitarian there, maintaining without disguise their heterodox opinions, and spreading around them a baleful influence, under which Christianity, like a sickly flower, can but droop and wither?

But let it not be for a moment supposed that we charge the Professor and his friends with designedly attempting to bring about such a crisis: far from it, for we doubt not that the Professor hopes that of his project good may come. The present evil arising from it, he must admit, unless upon him a moral blindness has descended; and doing evil that good may come, has justified the deeds of the Inquisition.

We speak harshly, but we believe that we speak the truth, and this is not the hour for an honest man to conceal either his opinions or his thoughts; and we address ourselves chiefly to Professor Sedgwick, because his name alone gave to the Cambridge Petition the pernicious power it possessed.

And now a few words with regard to the other petitioners. Among the names, we indeed recognize some, who stand in the foremost rank of science and of literature. But these are few in number, and joined with them there is the Rump of a restless faction, (we rejoice to see it so powerless,) which, from its effect and action, may be rightly termed the disturbing force of the peace of the University. In the whole list there is the name of one only, who, from his practical experience in the education of a large college, is qualified to give a correct decision upon the effects of such a measure.

The Dissenters, and those of the Church who adopted their views of the question, gladly availed themselves of the support which the Cambridge petition gave them, and magnified into an undue importance the names which they so miserably mispronounced. The names served a political purpose, and are henceforward valueless; otherwise we might think it our duty to denude them of their plumes, and to ascertain the true weight at which

they ought to be estimated; but we leave them with a remark gathered from experience, that minds which are totally engrossed by scientific pursuits are ill fitted to judge of questions affecting the social interests of man, and that he who may be able to comprise in algebraical formulæ the oscillations and currents of the ocean, yet may signally fail in his attempt to include in a system the discordant and jarring opinions of the religious world. But we turn away from these considerations and the unpleasing thoughts which gave rise to them; and while we leave to another opportunity any discussion, perhaps retrospective, on the studies of the University of Cambridge, we will preface by a few brief remarks an extract from the address, and see how ably Professor Sedgwick pleads against himself.

We have previously alluded to the place in which the address was delivered, and we now add that the opportune day was that upon which is held the annual commemoration of the benefactors of Trinity College.

After an elegant passage in praise of holy rejoicings and thanksgiving, we are introduced to those who have been the ornaments of their college, their country, and the world; to "Bacon, whose prophetic spirit was enabled to climb the Pisgah of science;" to Newton, "who, after having achieved by his single arm the conquest of the natural world, was not puffed up, but gave to God the glory;" to Ray, "who saw the finger of God in the whole frame-work of animated nature, and within these walls taught the listeners to comprehend the meaning of those characters he himself had first interpreted;" and to Barrow, "the learned and the wise, the inventive philosopher, the manly reasoner, the eloquent and single-minded Christian moralist;" and to many other illustrious men, "whose very names time would fail the preacher to tell, who having had their minds braced by the studies of this place, and their hearts sanctified by the wisdom from above, devoted themselves to the high and lofty office of extending the empire of truth."

And then he thus proceeds:—

"And surely the happiness we enjoy, and the names we this day commemorate, require something more from us than the gratitude of the lips—something more than a formal and heartless ceremonial. We are here met at our annual commemoration, *where these mighty men have met before; we are worshipping at the altar where they worshipped; we are treading on their ashes and looking on their tombs*, and every thing around us is sanctified by their genius.

"Circumstances like these have ever exerted a powerful influence on generous natures. If heathen men have felt them, and made them the topics of exhortation and the mainsprings of national honour, how much

more ought they to affect us who are assembled as a Christian brotherhood. We believe that the glorious names we commemorate are not those of men who have perished without hope ; but that having fought the good fight in this life, they have received a crown of glory in the life that is to come. They seem to speak to us from their tombs, but with no earthly voice, encouraging us by their example, and telling us to be of firm and of good cheer in this our pilgrimage,—that beyond the dark portal to which we are all hurrying, there is a land of promise—and that treading in the steps where they have trodden, and guided by the heavenly hand which guided them, we ourselves may reach that land, and dwell with them in everlasting glory.”

Dull and sluggish must be the current that runs through the veins of him, whose life's blood is not warmed by this eloquent appeal, and valueless the wisdom he has gotten within his college walls, if it partake not of the spirit here described, and if it make not him listen, with longing earnestness, to the voice of them who summon him from the pursuit of things temporal only, to the contemplation of those which are eternal.

And now let us ask, on what does the forcible application of these energetic sentences to the student mainly depend ? Can we for a moment think that they were spoken merely to excite them to increased diligence in the acquisition of knowledge ? Can we indeed suppose that the mighty names referred to were brought so strikingly before the imagination of the hearers only to captivate them by the hope that they, too, in this life, might obtain honour and distinction, and that lasting glory may also rest upon their tombs ? These motives, high as they may be, are neither worthy of the man that urged them, nor of the place in which they were uttered. The force of the application is this, that at the altar at which the mighty men alluded to have worshipped—under the same sacred roof where they offered up their prayers to heaven—at the very same altar, with the very same prayers, and the same unity of religious faith, the pious student still may bend his knee, and with unshaken confidence in the doctrines of his church, may, through the mysterious atonement of the blood of Jesus Christ, with humble confidence send up to the throne of mercy, in the sublimest form of prayer, the humble accents of a chastened mind. Nor is the force of the application diminished by the consideration that these noble thoughts may not greatly influence the minds of some inattentive and possibly profligate hearers. For at least they have not yet the excuse so readily laid hold of by the self-convinced but unrepentant spirit—the excuse, that no certain guidance to religious knowledge is offered by their teachers, no beacon fixed to light them to virtue, or to guard them from vice ; but that being carried backward and forward by various doc-

trines, hearing this doubted and that disbelieved, dissatisfied and wearied by conflicting opinions, they have at length sought refuge in indifference. Happily these excuses and flimsy arguments can not be used, so long as an uniform system of religious education is firmly adhered to, so long as the doctrines of our Church, and none other, are taught in our Universities in purity and without disguise.

And here we are led to the subject which has mainly brought us to notice the Sermon of Professor Sedgwick—the admission of the Dissenters to certain degrees in the Universities. Our readers may be aware that at Cambridge, neither the matriculation oath, nor the usage in the different colleges, has precluded Dissenters from receiving their education at that ancient seat of learning. Against them, however, the doors of Oxford have been always closed. What effect, then, their admission under the present restrictions to reside with students educated in the principles of the Established Church has had, can only be gathered from evidence afforded from the former University.

The advocates for the measure have laid great stress upon the fact of their being so admitted; and no evil being alleged to have arisen from their residence with the other students, it has been confidently asserted, that under no circumstances whatever can evil arise. We assert that the altered situation in which a Dissenter will find himself, should this ominous plan receive the sanction of the legislature, will produce an evil of vast and everlasting importance both to Church and State. And we say that the argument derived from the residence of Dissenters in the University in former times, has no real weight in the question, and never ought to exert the shadow of an influence on any mind. The number that has been admitted being exceedingly small, their compliance with college discipline general, their attendance at the chapel regular, and themselves being in no way distinguished from their fellow-students, they have passed unnoticed, and thus possibly no evil consequences may have been introduced by them; indeed some distinguished members of our Church have been so much struck with this, and have such reliance on the truth of the doctrines they profess, that they would even avail themselves of the opportunity afforded of such a commingling of the Dissenters with the youth of the Church, and would willingly seize upon it as a salutary means of correcting that bitter and destructive feeling which Dissenters seldom fail to express in an undeviating hostility to the Establishment. But again we repeat, the experiment has never been fairly tried, even in the case which is least likely of all others to decide the truth of the question; and

the effect of the extreme case, the converting of the Universities into a religious Babel, is with regard to them one of pure hypothesis only. But the extreme case *has been* put to the proof by the Dissenters, and, as we shall be able to show from Dr. Turton's excellent pamphlet, the system founded upon it has failed—failed, if it be granted that religion is after all the true aim of education; but it has signally failed, if, when pure Christianity was the sole object, that object was not attained. But even if it be granted that no evil can arise, nor has arisen, from the admission of Dissenters to the Universities merely for the purpose of receiving their education, and upon the condition of their absolute conformity with the discipline of the place—a position which we by no means think the advocates for the measure have a right to assume—yet the whole nature of things will be altered, when, armed with an act of parliament, the Dissenter enters a college, the discipline of which he is empowered to disobey, and which he enters not by an act of favour, but by right. Can any one be so grossly ignorant of the human heart as to suppose that to such a one the emoluments of the college can offer no allurements? or that there can be no heart-burning manifested, when to a fellow-student are allotted substantial rewards, while on the Dissenter is conferred the barren title of a degree? He will quit the University more embittered than ever against the Established Church; he will rush to the movement party, and the clamour which first gained him his degree will again be raised; and, rendered powerful from success, will not cease to be heard, so long as any distinction between Churchmen and Dissenters be suffered to exist.

En avant is the motto of the Dissenters, and nothing will satisfy them but the destruction of the power of the Church; and, as they are wise after the way of the world, they see no means so efficient as that which, as this does, introduces them into the strong holds of the Establishment.

We now turn the attention of our readers to Dr. Turton's pamphlet. We could wish that it was in our power to borrow more largely from it even than we shall do, and we take this opportunity of thanking him for an argument which appears to us unanswerable.

The high situation which Dr. Turton now holds in the University of Cambridge, rendered the expression of his sentiments on the subject of the admission of Dissenters to degrees, a duty, from the performance of which he could not flinch. The esteem with which he is regarded, and the confidence placed in him that he would not suffer his judgment to be biassed by party views, made his opinion to be universally welcomed.

We proceed to show in what manner he has come to a decided conviction that a permanent injury to the cause of the Church will be the result of the admission of Dissenters to academical degrees. Declamation he has avoided; appeals to the passions of the party with whom the Regius Professor of Divinity might be supposed to be attached he has neglected; speculative theories on the future he has laid aside; but has argued as we should have expected his philosophic mind would have argued, from direct experiment only.

After having declared his habitual distrust of theories, and being the more confirmed in his distrust by the knowledge that a theory must be bad indeed, which does not become plausible when recommended by ingenious and eloquent men, he proceeds to say, that when he found that a bill had been brought into the House of Commons, which, if passed into an act of parliament, would make it "lawful for all his Majesty's subjects to enter and matriculate in the universities of England, and to receive and enjoy all degrees in learning conferred there (degrees in divinity alone excepted,) without being required to subscribe any articles of religion, or to make any declaration of religious opinions respecting particular modes of faith and worship," he then sought whether in our country any similar plan of proceeding had been adopted, and if so, what was the result. Dr. Turton found that such a plan had been tried for a time long enough, and on a scale large enough, to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt, to the unbiassed mind, the principle for which he contends. The nature of the proof may be seen in the following abstract from the narrative contained in Dr. Turton's pamphlet.

Dr. Doddridge, to whom the Christian world is greatly indebted, was for more than twenty years at the head of an academical establishment for the instruction of young men; the constitution of the academy was "perfectly Catholic," by which is meant, that students of any sect of religion were admissible. The principle object of this academy was the education of students for the ministry; but young men of fortune having other views were also admitted.

Although he was himself a believer in the Trinity and the atonement, Doddridge admitted to his house and his academy young men holding Arian and Socinian sentiments.

Let us now see the consequence of this admission. The increased number of Doddridge's pupils rendered it necessary for him to appoint an assistant; the names of four of these assistants are mentioned, and of them three were Arians at the least.

And now we ask why did Dr. Doddridge appoint assistants who differed from him so widely and so materially; who dif-

ferred, too, not on a point of church government, not upon a point of abstruse doctrine, but upon a point of faith, on which we as Trinitarians firmly believe that the salvation of man's immortal soul depends? While we cannot help regarding this conduct of Dr. Doddridge as weak and unworthy of him, we can readily ascertain that the cause of his so acting arose from the admixture of persons of various religious creeds. And we ask whether there be no fear of a similar result occurring at our own universities, should this obnoxious bill become the law of the land?

The mode of lecturing may be very naturally expected to participate of the spirit which actuated the appointments.

In his lectures, Doddridge laid down an

"Ample statement of the evidences of Christianity, and then entered into a copious detail of what were, or, at least, what appeared to him to be the doctrines of Scripture. In so doing, he stated and maintained his own opinions, but never assumed the character of a dogmatist. He represented the arguments and referred to the authorities on both sides. The students were left to judge for themselves; and they did judge for themselves with his perfect concurrence and approbation."

Such is the account given by Dr. Kippis, in his life of Doddridge, of his preceptor's mode of lecturing.* Can we doubt for an instant what must be the necessary effect of such a method on the sanguine and ardent imagination of youth? Can we expect that they were likely to gain from it those fixed principles of religion so absolutely necessary for the ministry.

Let us hear from Dr. Turton the results of this system of religious education.

"As to the effects of the system of education upon the divinity students, it is well known to have been a subject of lamentation to all, whether Churchmen, or those Dissenters who have held with Dr. Doddridge the doctrines of the Trinity and the atonement, that the results of the plan of instruction pursued at Northampton should have been so disastrous. There was a vagueness and indecision of language in the discourses of the young ministers who had been trained in that seminary, which made it a matter of uncertainty whether they really had any positive opinions at all on some of the most momentous points that can occupy the attention of mankind; while the faith of many others being shaken by the debatable form in which every doctrine was presented to them, they exposed to danger the faith of entire congregations committed to their charge."

At the death of Dr. Doddridge, Dr. Ashworth, a Trinitarian, was appointed to succeed to the vacant tutorship, and Mr. Clark, an Arian, was continued as sub-tutor. During their regime, the well known Dr. Priestley was admitted a student of the Northampton academy, at a time when to use his own words, "the academy

* Dr. Kippis was an Unitarian.

was in a state peculiarly favourable to the serious pursuit of truth, the students being equally divided upon every question of much importance." Some of these questions are mentioned, and he then states that all their topics were the subject of continual discussion. "Our tutors were also of different opinions; Dr. Ashworth taking the orthodox side of every question, and Mr. Clark, the sub-tutor, that of heresy, though always with great modesty."

Were not the question of such vast and eternal importance, we could almost smile at the naïveté of the writer, who can instance such a system of things as being "peculiarly favourable to the serious pursuit of truth."

Dr. Turton does not, however, think it right to use his own language in condemnation of this system; and we shall here follow his example, and quote part of the extract which he has made from a Memoir written by the late Mr. Robert Hall.

"The celebrated Priestley speaks of the state of the academy while he resided there, with great complacency; nothing he assures us could be more favourable to the progress of free inquiry, since both the tutors and the students were about equally divided between the Orthodox and the Arian systems. The arguments by which every possible modification of error is attempted to be supported were carefully marshalled in hostile array against the principles generally embraced; while the Theological Professor prided himself on the *steady impartiality with which he held the balance betwixt the contending systems*, seldom or never interposing his own opinion, and still less betraying the slightest emotion of antipathy to error or predilection to truth. Thus a *spirit of indifference to all religious principles* was generated in the first instance, which naturally paved the way for the prompt reception of doctrines indulgent to the corruption and flattering to the pride of a depraved and fallen nature."

It ought to have been mentioned, that in 1751 this establishment was removed from Northampton to Daventry, and that the appointment of the head tutor was placed at the disposal of the trustees of Mr. Coward, Mr. Coward having bequeathed a considerable estate for the education of dissenting ministers and for other religious purposes. And by the will it was directed that the said students be well instructed in the true Gospel doctrines, according as the same are explained in the Assembly's Catechism.

In 1781, Mr. Coward's trustees, "still," says Dr. Turton, "I suppose, with a view of taking care that the students should be well instructed in the true Gospel doctrines," placed Mr. Belsham at the head of the institution.

Let us see what was the mode of lecturing adopted by Mr. Belsham, who, "at that period," says Dr. Turton, "does not appear to have abandoned the doctrine of our Lord's pre-existence." Mr. Belsham thus writes:—

"Now the plan which to the author appeared most eligible for conducting the minds of his pupils on this inquiry, was to form a collection of all the texts in the New Testament which in any way related to the person of Christ, and to arrange them under different heads, beginning with simple pre-existence and advancing through the various intermediate steps to the doctrine of the proper Deity of Christ. Under each text was introduced the comment of one or more learned and approved Trinitarian, Arian, or Unitarian Expositors, in the commentator's own words, and in general without any additional, or at least doctrinal, comment of the compiler's own, as it was his wish to leave the texts thus expounded to make their proper impression upon the minds of his pupils.

"The first consequence of this mode of conducting the lectures was to himself very unexpected and mortifying. Many of his pupils, and of those some of the best talents, the closest application, and the most serious dispositions, who had also been educated in all the habits and prepossessions of Trinitarian doctrine, *to his great surprise became Unitarians.*"

Can we require a better proof of the fatal result of a scheme of religious instruction, in which "the balance is to be held with steady impartiality?" but its condemnation shall be read not in our words, but in those of the theological tutor of Homerton, Dr. T. P. Smith, who, on Mr. Belsham's mode of lecturing, thus writes:—

"To throw down before a company of inexperienced youths a regular set of rival and discordant expositions, appears to me to have been a method not well calculated to lead into the path of convincing evidence and well-ascertained truth. It might excite party feeling, wordy disputation, unholy levity, and rash decision; but so far as, either from the theory of the case or from experience, I am able to form a judgment, I could not expect a better result except in rare cases indeed."

And now we would ask any parent or guardian, to whom religion is of consequence, whether he would choose to place his son or ward within the influence of a system of education so pernicious in its results as that to which we have now been referring? A system not existing for a brief period, but extending itself and its baleful consequences over a time not less than sixty years, and which thus has been fairly tried. A system which has been condemned not by Churchmen only, but by Dissenters also, by those Dissenters too who are the just pride of their body, and who can be mentioned only to be honoured. Can Churchmen and Dissenters be really in union to introduce into our own Universities the latitudinarian principles which rendered ineffective the religious education of the Daventry academy? Will not the former agree with, and the latter admit the force of, the following declaration of the Dean of Peterborough?

"The non-conformist tutor of the Daventry academy was required by

the will of the non-conformist Mr. Coward, to instruct the students committed to his care in the principles of religion as laid down in the Assembly's Catechism. I therefore conclude that, even the non-conformists themselves being judges, there is nothing wrong in Christians, by whatever name they may be designated, teaching, in their own seminaries of education, the principles of religion as laid down in such formularies as, after due inquiry, they conscientiously believe to contain the truth. This is what I claim for the members of the Church of England.

"Again, many non-conformists have described the effects which have arisen and cannot but arise from a continued residence, in the same place of instruction, of young men widely differing from each other in theological sentiments—as highly injurious to the cause of religion. An entire agreement with these non-conformists, in this matter, I take the liberty of avowing on the part of the members of the Church of England.

"Lastly, to avoid the evils consequent upon the plan of education last-mentioned, non-conformists of different denominations have founded academies, in each of which, to youths of their own communion, those principles of religion alone are taught which are in agreement with their own peculiar views. *For the members of the Church of England I claim the same privilege.*"

And here we cease to make extracts from Dr. Turton's admirable pamphlet, and here we would wish to conclude our remarks upon it; but the main argument used, we must still notice, since it has provoked the attack of more than one powerful opponent. The Hebrew Professor, Dr. Lee, and Mr. Thirlwall of Trinity College, have each assailed the lofty position of the Dean of Peterborough; but the former seems never to have apprehended at all the aim of the pamphlet of the dean; while the subtle irony of the latter has been chiefly employed in deriding the discipline and depreciating the value of the religious education of the University. The "startling novelties" put forth by Mr. Thirlwall on these subjects have placed him, with regard to his superior, in a situation of great perplexity; and should he finally resign his tutorship, another reason will be afforded us for condemning the agitation of a question which has rendered useless to the students of his college the acquirements of this able, perhaps unequalled, scholar.

With gentleness of language, but with merciless argument, Mr. Whewell has shown the futility of the reasoning brought forward by Mr. Thirlwall; but we can only refer our readers to the pamphlets themselves to be convinced as we have been. Mr. Thirlwall has asserted, that upon looking through the Cambridge collection of Examination Papers, the occurrence of even a single question on any point of doctrine is a most rare exception to the general practice; thence inferring, that, as the lectures must correspond in some degree with the examinations, no opposition to the presence of Dissenters at those lectures could reasonably be made.

Mr. Selwyn, on the contrary, affirms that no point, either of controversy or of doctrine, is neglected; and our recollections certainly incline us to agree with him, and the extracts he has made from the Examination Papers do not warrant the conclusion of Mr. Thirlwall.

And now we would wish to address a few words to Professor Lee, who, after having made some remarks upon Dr. Turton's statement of the evil consequences arising from the attendance of Churchmen and Dissenters upon the same theological lectures, thus proceeds :

“ Now I can find no such provision in this bill ; on the contrary, it provides that degrees in divinity shall not be claimed under it, which seems to take for granted that no theological course of reading will be either given or required.”

What! a clergyman of the Church of England—nay, a dignitary of the Church—a king's professor too—can he look so lightly upon religious education as to leave it a matter of doubt whether it be given or not? Can he look with complacency on such a system? Can he really urge its adoption?—a system which must place the children of his dissenting brethren for three years, and years the most perilous—the years when the spirits are most buoyant, the judgment least strong—almost beyond the very pale of religion. Is there not in all this something very strange, very monstrous?

In the picture which Dr. Turton has drawn of the evils arising from the system adopted at the Daventry Academy, the evils are exhibited in gigantic dimensions. The truth of the delineation has been admitted by his opponents, while they deny the faithfulness of the representation with regard to the Universities. We need not thank them for admitting that which it would be a hardihood indeed to deny, and we shall not be induced by their candour to give up one jot or tittle of the argument of the Dean of Peterborough. We allow that he has taken an extreme case, and we are sure he has done wisely in so choosing his ground. We, too, have assumed that the destruction of religion in the Universities will be the ultimate consequence of the admission of Dissenters; because we can see no hope that the question of admission, if granted, will rest as the present advocates of the measure say it will do; because we foresee that whenever any young men among the Nonconformists become distinguished among their fellow-students in the public examinations, another change must be effected in our collegiate establishments, and Fellowships must be awarded them. Their talents and their situation will then give an influence which will draw to their colleges the Dissenters of their own sect; claims to a share in the tuition cannot be re-

jected, and the deformities of the Daventry system will be horribly realized.

But the advocates of the measure have said, that this is but a fanciful chimæra, and a state of things which it is impossible ever should occur. We wish we could believe it. For a moment we will; and then we will tell the Dissenters—and we speak from experience—send not your children to a place of education where the hope of reward is not the stimulus of exertion, and where religious instruction is positively denied them. The love of fame is a mighty incentive to human exertion, but the desire of obtaining the “glorious privilege of being independent” is a noble one too, and without the hope of this happiness being offered to their grasp, many of the brightest characters which adorn the universities of our land would never have been numbered among their members. Yet, under the proposed system, the Dissenter will be excluded from the influence of this latter motive; and, without this incentive, we from experience declare, that the education of the Dissenter will be to him profitless. Profitless, however, it will not be suffered to remain; other consequences must and will follow.

And here we conclude our remarks upon this great, this vital question—a question which must never be degraded into one of party politics, but ought to be viewed as we have viewed it, as one of religion only. And we urge its consideration upon all to whom the powers of thinking have been given—whether Churchmen or Dissenters—upon all who hold the principles of pure Christianity; for in this question the very existence of Christianity in this country is at stake. It has been pronounced to us that the Christian religion can never fail; and we have seen it overcome the bigotry of the Jew and the contemptuous persecution of the Roman, and survive the darkening superstitions and frightful tyranny of a false and usurping church; and, under all circumstances, for our own country will we indulge hope. But we can also point to other climes over which the standard of the Cross once waved triumphantly. Need we say how dejectedly and solitarily the Christian, if such there be, walks there now? But what were the causes of this lamentable change? Let history tell. The reign of vice, the growth of infidelity, the neglect of God’s word, the falling off from Christ—causes which we fervently hope may never spread their influence over our native land. The ravages of foreign conquest would not have been permitted, unless there had been also the canker of internal corruption. Divine Providence has never abandoned a Christian country, unless that country had first tampered with its Christianity.

ART. XII.—*Report of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge for 1833.* London: J. G. and F. Rivington.

IT is with no common feelings of solicitude, that we make the "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge" an object of discussion:—nor would any consideration have tempted us to the task, but a keen and growing sense of the necessity, upon this, as upon other very important matters, of giving a clear and explicit statement of things as they exist. Nor let any of our readers wonder, that we rank among very important matters the proceedings of this Society; for to the interests of the Christian church, and even the general wellbeing of mankind, we can discern nothing more important, when we consider the transcendent value, and glory, and holiness, of its design, the number and respectability of its subscribers, the vast extent of its transactions, the great amount of its accumulated funds, the progressive increase of its resources, and the close and anxious attention which is paid to all its operations. Yet, if it be much that many thousands of persons, the most dignified by their character, and the most influential from their station, have interested themselves in its prosperity; if it be much, that the income of the last year has exceeded the sum of 74,000*l.*, and that the expenditure has been scarcely less; if it be much, that the diffusion of its spiritual benefits is stretching over the globe, and that the circulation of its books and tracts is to be reckoned by millions; if it be much, that these united causes have made the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge the first association of the religious world, there is still another circumstance which now invests it in our eyes with an even stronger interest than any, or than all, of these remarkable distinctions. It has become an epitome and mirror of the Church of England; the several parties, into which the church is divided, have lately chosen to gather and array themselves upon the platform of its room in Lincoln's Inn Fields; and they can be more accurately marked from their concentrated position, and the smallness of the stage. The conflict of British Theology will, in all probability, be fought upon its arena; and as the issue is in the Society, so, we think, will the issue be in the national church. On this account it is, that we turn with a peculiar intensity of emotion to the past history and the present state of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

It will be our endeavour to regard measures rather than men, things rather than persons; to separate matters of primary and permanent, from minute details of passive and subordinate, interest; and also to observe the utmost candour and impartiality in our re-

marks. We confess, however, that we write with a High Church bias ; and let that bias be taken into account.

Our limits preclude us from referring at any length to the foundation and origin of this Society above a century ago. It is matter of notoriety, that the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge held from its beginning an orthodox and distinctive character. Such a character was attributed to its publications ; such a character was attributed to its members ; and, whether in affection or in obloquy, whether as a theme for eulogy or for dispraise, such a character was attributed to the Society itself. From its possession of such a character, its friends were more especially its friends, and its enemies were more especially its enemies. Other societies were founded upon other principles ; as, for instance, the Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society. From the reason of the thing, then, we should have expected, and from actual experience we know, that one class of religionists would forward their subscriptions, and affix their good wishes, to either of these last-named associations ; and that the other class of religionists would attach themselves to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. Nor can it be denied that, in point of fact, while the Society promoted Christian Knowledge in a wide and Catholic spirit of Christian charity, it still promoted it in accordance with the views of the High Church section among the members of the Establishment : and from that section in return, chiefly, if not entirely, it derived the sinews of its strength ; it flourished from their donations ; it was fostered by their bequests ; it augmented and consolidated its resources from their liberality. In a word, from its very commencement, and for a long series of years, this Society was a High Church Society, and its funds were High Church funds ; because contributed by High Church men ; and, to whatever extent its objects were peculiar and exclusive, contributed for High Church purposes. Such is still the case to a considerable degree ; but some alterations have occurred, and still more are likely to occur, we will not yet inquire whether for the better or the worse, from a diversity of causes which are sufficiently obvious. Within, new shades and modifications of opinion crept into notice : without, the march of events, the novel channels of secular instruction, and the rapid development among the people of intelligence and intellectual activity, were thought to demand that a fresh vigour should be infused into the exertions of this great Christian body, and that its designs should be placed upon a wider basis. It has happened also that an irreconcilable dissension arose in the Bible Society ; and, in consequence, many of its most valuable members seceded from the rival association, and threw themselves into the arms of the Society for promoting

Christian Knowledge. Hence, of late, there has been a prodigious influx of subscribers, coming partly as the reward of past utility, partly from the general growth of religious sentiments, and partly from the schism which had broken out in another quarter. It was plain, that several of these latter accessions would be actuated by feelings and motives somewhat different from those of the original members ; and, besides, that some temporary disturbance would be the natural result of this almost plethoric fulness, flowing, as it were, into the veins of the Society ; as also from the ever increasing magnitude and multifariousness of its undertakings.

Hence a new æra seemed to open upon it. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge has been met on its own ground by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. In the standing committee a liberal and middle party gradually assumed the lead, desirous, like all new parties, to organize new schemes : the old party, whose authority was displaced or impaired, could not enter cordially into their views ; and, between them, that section of the church, which had hitherto despaired of pressing its own peculiarities of doctrine, began to think that its opportunity was come, and that there was “ a tide in its affairs, which should be taken at the flood.”

Thus, mainly out of the success and grandeur of the Society, sprung up some potent elements of confusion and derangement. Thus schisms have arisen, and disputes have grown hot ; the large room has been turned into a theatre for angry controversy ; and to an unconcerned spectator it might have been a curious and not uninteresting sight to observe the violence of human passion only restrained from intemperate ebullitions by the kindlier strength of Christian impulses. Even now, although the atmosphere has been lulled into a comparative calm, the storm may burst out at any moment, and shake the Society to its centre ; and its managers, we should conceive, can have a position not much more comfortable, than if they sat upon a barrel of gunpowder, into which the dropping of one casual spark might cause an instant and universal explosion.

The blame of this disturbance we are not inclined to lay at the door of any individuals ; for the disturbing forces, we imagine, have been engendered by circumstances far too wide and various for individual control : and the disorder itself may have been an evil inseparable from some concomitant good, and more than counterbalanced by the good. But, having made these admissions, we shall proceed to offer our opinions very freely upon the actual position of the Society, and the parties which it contains.

Our task, however, is no easy one. There are so many mat-

ters under turbulent discussion in the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, so many conflicting hopes and sentiments, so many sections and intersections of party, that to fling ourselves into the midst of its proceedings, is almost to throw ourselves into the mazes of an inextricable labyrinth. It becomes extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible, to cast our statements into any order, which may be conveniently and comfortably followed; and which, at the same time, may give a full and accurate, as well as a clear and simple exposition, of the attitude of things in this great and venerable association. The best plan which we can devise is, to consider, first, the views and objects of the Society; and, afterwards, its machinery and arrangements for carrying them into effect; taking under either division, as we proceed, a survey of the constitution, the wishes, and the interests, of the several parties, as well as we can.—In looking at the *views* and *objects* of the Society, it may be well to consider both the *extent* to which these are carried, and the *principles* on which they are pursued.

As to the *extent*, however, we shall say but a very few words; and those few will be spoken with reluctance. Probably, indeed, we should have preserved an absolute silence, but from a wish thus early to point out one unfortunate circumstance, which will accompany us, we fear, throughout all our observations, and which, we think, may afford a key to many of the misunderstandings and inconveniences which have lately troubled the Society. We mean a deficiency on the part of the directors, in general, and as a body, of that clearness of perception, or that strength of will, without which it becomes impossible for them to mark their own views with a precise and vigorous outline: a want of that firm, but calm, sagacity, which, while it takes for its operations a bold and generous sweep, would yet mould them into a determinate form, and bound them by a defined, though mighty, circumference. They sometimes seem to us like men, who are anxious to do a great deal, and yet have never asked themselves the question what exactly it is which they have to do. Hence, in some instances, their schemes have the appearance of disorderly confusion; their conduct has been exposed to a charge of inconsistency; and they have begun with creating alarm in one party, only to end with producing disappointment in the other.

For let us illustrate our position by an example taken from the *extent* to which the managers of the Society are pushing the prosecution of its objects. In its name, and its origin, and its constitution, the Society is “for promoting *Christian Knowledge*,” and the very first of its standing rules is, “that the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge do *strictly confine* itself to the designs expressed in its name.” But a committee has lately been

attached to the Society, of which we are told, "the committee were instructed *not to confine* their operations to such works as would come *strictly* within the meaning of the words, *Christian Knowledge*; but to extend them to any branch of literature, which *they* might consider useful in promoting directly, or *indirectly*, the great designs of the Society." The formation of the new committee might be very proper; we now urge no objection on that score: but we do complain that we find these things in the same report, and that this incongruity between the rule and the transactions is suffered to continue. Either the one should be rescinded, or the wings of the other should be clipped. For what more, we ask, could be done, if the Society were *solicitous* to stultify its own order and its own proceedings? or what can be more palpable than this egregious, and almost ludicrous, contradiction in terms? Then, again, the new committee, which proceeds, as we shall see more at large in another stage of our remarks, "on the principles of trade, and not as in the Society's ordinary operations," and which may "pursue the same method to an *unlimited extent*," now starts away from the Parent Association with a most eccentric and erratic course, and now suddenly returns, not merely into the same orbit, but into actual collision; and furnishes, at one moment, "The Bible Lesson Book," and "Family Sermons;" at another, (we take three consecutive titles almost at random,) "The Natural History of Birds," "Outlines of Grecian History," and "Easy Lessons in Money Matters." "Easy Lessons in Money Matters!" and very serviceable lessons, we doubt not; and, as might be expected from the distinguished talents and station of the most reverend author, very excellent of their kind. But, really, if such precepts are to be comprised in the catalogue, on the ground that they are useful to the people, we cannot see how any imaginable exclusion can be defended; or what line can be drawn; or where the Society is to stop; or with what departments of science, domestic, culinary, and peptic, it may not concern itself; or, in short, why the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge may not publish a cookery book.

We are not arguing, be it observed, that the purposes of general literature and education may not, legitimately and advantageously, be connected with the promotion of Christian Knowledge; but we insist here, and we shall insist elsewhere, upon the necessity of revision and reconsideration, and the adoption of some specific plan for reconciling and harmonizing the Society with itself.

But the *principles* on which the Society pursues its objects are, in our opinion, of far greater consequence than the *extent* to which it carries them. It is much to ascertain, whether the prose-

cution of its views may properly include the very amplest range of exertion, or whether some of its late operations must be regarded as being at variance with the first of its general rules, and therefore as transgressing the utmost latitude of allowance, compatible with the present form of its constitution; but it is far more,—since the title of the Society sufficiently declares its aim, and since it is admitted on all hands as a fundamental axiom, that *no nobler object than the promotion of Christian Knowledge can be conceived by the mind of man*,—to examine by what standard, and in conformity with what sentiments, the diffusion of this knowledge is to be regulated.

We come, then, to the truism, that a Society which undertakes to promote Christian Knowledge, like any other Society, which undertakes to promote any other department of knowledge, undertakes to promote it, not in a loose, slovenly, indefinite manner, but in conformity with the soundest principles of the science with which it deals. True, its publications are elementary; but there is quite as strong a necessity, every one knows, that the *principles* inculcated in elementary publications should be accurately correct, as if they extended through the minutest ramifications of theology, and dived into its profoundest depths. Christian Knowledge, then, is to be promoted in strict accordance with the soundest doctrines of Christianity; and, of course, as the Society is supported exclusively by members of the establishment, in accordance with sound doctrine, as recognized by the Church of England.

And here we are met on the threshold by that great and serious difficulty, which, if we would grapple fairly with any one question relating to the Society, it is impossible to evade. What is meant by sound doctrine, as recognized by the Church of England? Can a definition be given, in which all the members of the Society will agree? or are they divided among themselves by differences of opinion? and are these differences such as to preclude any *common* line, in which the Society can proceed? and, if such they are, can the Society take two or more lines, adapted and adjusted to two or more parties? or, if that course be impracticable, to what party is it to adhere, and what line is it to take?

Let us first take the supposition, that the differences are wide and of vital moment, and that some one determinate line must ultimately be chosen. “But which?” This is an enquiry which can hardly admit of doubt. It may be, that both parties will assert with equal skill the excellence of their respective theology: but we should still deny, that the two parties stand, in the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, upon equal grounds. The one

party may contend, that its publications ought to take their tone from the majority for the time being; and the other party may echo the declaration, from a conviction that they now possess the majority, and a determination to exercise that power to keep it, which is within their grasp. And it is absurd to suppose that a superiority of numbers will not make itself felt on whichever side it may exist. There are, however, many reasons, which persuade us, that a mere numerical majority for the time being is not the *first* or *only* thing to be considered—although a very potent consideration it must always be—in determining the line of doctrine to be adopted by a Society. For, if such a principle be recognized, the essential features of a Society may be changed by a sudden rush of new subscribers, and the Unitarians ought now to be the Administrators of Lady Hewley's charities. Besides, a perpetual struggle for the mastery becomes of perpetual occurrence; every meeting must be a renewal of disputes, while the name of every fresh candidate will be scrutinized and canvassed with a suspicious jealousy, and a system of *black-balling* will infallibly be pursued, which may tend to dry up the main sources of the prosperity of the Association. Such, too, must be the result, if ever it be understood that the Committee is to represent the different shades of opinion discernible among the members; and so represent them, that the numbers in the Committee shall bear an exact proportion to the numbers in the body at large. But no: the representative principle is not applicable to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; or, at least, it must be modified by other principles, less prolific of feuds and fluctuations in their practical effect; and, if the Committee are the representatives of any thing, they must rather be the representatives of the known and unswerving doctrines, in which, originally, the Society was organized, and its funds were accumulated. The nature of those doctrines we have already seen. And therefore any one of the older members has a right to say, as some have in substance said: "This Society has been formed upon certain principles; and, as members of this Society, our first duty is to maintain them. For who are they, who have been the nursing-fathers of this Society? Whose care has nurtured its resources, and in whose lap have its interests been cradled? Who are they, that have fostered its infancy? Who are they, that have brought it to the present pinnacle of exaltation and influence? No where would I abandon the distinctive tenets of the orthodox party in the Church of England; but, least of all would I abandon them *here*;—here, where I seem to stand amidst the glorious monuments, which that party has reared; here, whence the blessings of their benevolence have been shed, under the gracious protection of Almighty God, into

the hearts of millions of human beings. Are all these things to be forgotten, as if they had never been? "Shall all these labours, all these honours die?" Shall there be no recurrence to the history of the Society? Is the Society to have no *past*? Is the to-day of the Society to have no connection with its yesterday? and its to-morrow no connection with its to-day? Let us speak and act, as if the distinguished prelates, the learned divines, and the pious laymen, who constituted this association, were now the witnesses of our words and actions; let us *not* act, or speak, in a manner, which, besides being a departure from the soundness of Christian doctrine, would be a dishonour to their memories, and a breach of faith in the employment of their bequests."

Such might be the language of men, who would proceed, in their filial reverence, as if there stood before them the shades of Bishop Compton and Dr. Thomas Bray. Such language might well be held, upon the hypothesis which we have assumed, that the differences are irreconcilable, and therefore that a decision must be made between antagonist opinions.

Many, indeed, may say that every man's guinea is as good as his neighbour's; that all, if admitted as subscribers to an equal amount, must be admitted to have an equal voice; and that it is absurd to suppose, that such distinctions can be recognized in the same Church, as to bind down a Society to any specific course, which favours one party at the expense of another. But we reply, that, *if* the distinctions exist, they must be recognized. For it seems, in truth, the most untenable of all theories, that two lines can be taken by which both parties will be satisfied.

Yet some would, perhaps, tell us, that, upon the supposition of wide and vital differences, these same differences must exist in the Church of England itself, which yet manages to contain, and suit, both parties alike. But the cases are not parallel. If the Church were about to put forth a new set of homilies, or an enlarged exposition of its tenets, then the Church would be placed in nearly the same position, in which the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge is placed at the present moment. But the Church is not called upon, as a body, to assert, or explain, its doctrines and discipline afresh; the differences are mainly raised about the interpretation of the articles, which are already embodied in its creed. The Church rather acts through her several ministers in their several localities; and these several ministers, although subordinate to the ecclesiastical canons, and subject to episcopal jurisdiction, have yet in their own sphere a distinct agency and discretion. But a Society must act as *one*, in its collective and corporate capacity: and therefore it is, that far stricter and more complete unity and congruity of operations

must be required in a religious Society, than in the general body of the Church. It becomes impossible for a Society to proceed long upon two principles at once: and therefore it is, that the points of difference, if ever they are brought to an extreme issue, will probably be contested in some place, like the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, opened to all parties, almost as a field of combat. In the Church a hundred differences of opinion may exist for years almost without clashing: on the floor of the same Society they must soon meet with a ruder or more tempered shock. Or, if a Society, in the hope of preventing the collision, *should* try two lines of publication, and frame two sets of tracts, then, very shortly, *more than two* would be found necessary: all sorts and shades of sentiment would claim to make the Society their organ; and the relative proportions of time and money, to be expended on the peculiar views of several parties, would become matter of controversy; and, under almost every aspect, more evils and annoyances would result, with a less counterpoise of benefits, from an attempted *olio* of opinions, than if two or more separate Societies were formed, acting in honest competition, and each placed upon its own independent footing.

But, if it be allowed that no single Society can advance with energy and success upon a *plurality* of principles, there comes another supposition, which as yet we have not entertained; namely, that one middle line may be taken, which moderate Churchmen will immediately support, and to which the members of all parties, with the exception of a few violent individuals, will, in time and by degrees, become assimilated and conformed. And thus we are brought to the point, which—although the preceding topics will be seen, before we conclude, to have been relevant and essential to our argument,—is, in reality, the most knotty and most prickly, as well as the most interesting and most important, of the whole discussion.

At once we say, that, if such a policy could be steadily and successfully pursued, we should hail its success with almost transports of satisfaction. It would not merely confirm the welfare of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; but might be the harbinger of a new and brighter epoch in the Church of England. And, when we look around us, and consider how much of virtue and prudence that Church contains among her sons; and how many young ministers are rising up, who unite all the soundness of the one party, with all the activity of the other, we may not be altogether confident, but we should deem it a crime and a folly to despair.

On the other hand, the work is intricate; the difficulties are enormous; the instruments at hand are not the most plastic,

and ductile, and manageable of materials; and a middle course, as it is called, may be pursued in a manner, which, if it does not ensure failure, will, unquestionably, neither command success, nor deserve it.

In the first place, a middle course may be no course at all. Instead of treading its own path with dignity and certainty of step, it may be running after the variety of stragglers in every possible direction. Instead of bringing others over to itself, and procuring their adhesion; it may go in quest of opposite opinions, and after walking part of the way with one system, may suddenly cross the road to walk the rest with its antagonist. A policy, like this, *is itself crooked, instead of keeping others straight*; instead of bending to circumstances a little, and so swaying them much, it is the very sport of every gust of accident, and, literally, blown about by every wind of doctrine. Instead of bringing the two extremes to any approximation, it is itself driven alternately from side to side—a mere shuttlecock between the vigorous battle-doors of adverse factions.

In the second place, a middle course, if it disdains suberviency or craft, may displease both the parties, which it aims to conciliate. Or, perhaps, we should say “*all* the parties,” rather than “*both* the parties.” For as some would divide the members of the Society into three parties, others would divide them into four, or a larger number: some would divide them into the Orthodox party, the Evangelical party, and the Liberal or Middle party; others would distribute them, like the Deputies in the French Chamber, into the Right—the Right Centre—the Left Centre—and the Left.

Yet, again, if men seek to trim the balance by their cleverness as tacticians, the result may be still more lamentable. For, make what division we may, it is clear that the more determined advocates, on either side, consider the theological tenets of the Society, and therefore in some degree of the Church of England, to be involved. They do, and will regard it, as a matter of controversial divinity, in which the truths of the Gospel are at stake; and no error will be found so fatal, no view of the matter will be found ultimately so false, as an attempt, on the part of the Standing Committee, or the Middle Party, to treat it as a matter of dexterous management, or prudential expediency. Any such policy, in itself not a high-minded high-principled policy, will assuredly break down, to the injury of the Association, and the discredit of its authors.

They who *desire* changes in the theology of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge will proceed upon the Irish plan pursued by O’Connell, and recommended by Lord Anglesea, and will

“agitate, agitate, agitate,” as long as there remains any hope or chance of *effecting* them. We take it for granted, that these parties are anxious for the diffusion and triumph of their peculiar tenets. The contrary supposition would do them wrong. Whatever a man’s religious sentiments may be, it is a libel upon him, and not a panegyric, to suggest, that he has not a desire to see them widely and progressively prevalent; or that, having the desire, he will not take the most efficacious measures within his reach to attain his object. For religious truth is a matter of importance so unspeakable and so sacred, that, if a man be indifferent whether his views of it are received or rejected, we are compelled to suspect that he cannot be in earnest about religion at all.

A belief, then, that the aims of one party are as elevated as of the other, and their designs as pure, and their motives as conscientious, is itself our assurance that they will not rest satisfied, while principles, which they deem erroneous, preponderate and give the tone in a society to which they belong.

But then they who are of other sentiments must be strenuous to defend them, just in proportion as it may be reasonably anticipated that they will be honestly and strenuously attacked. And thus, if serious and fundamental differences do really exist, there must be a perpetual struggle for the mastery in those points of difference, until there is given to one side or the other a fixed, decided, and acknowledged predominance.

So at least think, and will think, the members of the older party in the association, who are opposed to all changes in the tenor of its theology. From a combination of unhappy circumstances, and for the most part, we verily believe, from a train of mutual misconceptions, they are already estranged from the men who have been, and may be, and ought to be, and would wish to be, cordially and cheerfully, their associates and fellow labourers. Some of them, we fear many of them, have peopled their imagination with dark and hateful phantoms. They have conceived a party composed of men, who once belonged to them, and are now betraying them; who turn their backs upon their friends, and throw out a wretched leer of invitation to their enemies; whose dislike is as pusillanimous, as their affection is equivocal; who mistake cowardice for moderation, and compromise for prudence; who are led, while they affect to lead; who have no inherent strength, because no consistent stability; who catch, however, a temporary, and casual, and pernicious power from the curious equipoise of opposite sides; who seem to have weight, because a feather may turn the balance, where the heavier contents are equal in both scales; but who have no proper influence, because they depend upon assistance, which is given, not from love, but

from the mere convenience of the moment; who are the dupes of their own artifices, the fools of their own tactics; never successful, but in the cause of their adversaries,—the tools and instruments of men to whom, throughout their previous lives, they have been always opposed.

But why do we present a picture such as this? Because we believe it to be correct? God forbid! We are thoroughly persuaded in our hearts, and we speak without one particle of hidden meaning, that it is a vision made up of unreal apparitions. But we are also persuaded, that if some smothered, or only half smothered, emotions could have vent, they would utter almost such language as we have ventured to employ: and we have employed it, because there can be no harmony until the whole truth be known, no renewal of broken amities until the present heart-burnings are quenched by a few words of frank and reciprocal explanation; and the society cannot proceed with comfort until the minds of many estimable men, which are now darkened with these gloomy figures, shall be disabused of their erroneous impressions.

But the members of the middle party, and the standing committee in general, will declare that they have been studiously solicitous to remove doubts and errors, and that all future misapprehensions must be wilful, be the source or current what it may; inasmuch as they have been at particular pains to show, that their intention is to carry forward the views and objects of the society on the theological principles recognized from its foundation; and, in the way of change, or extension, merely to organize new and improved means for the facilitation of their accomplishment. It may, therefore, save trouble to pursue the discussion with a more peculiar reference to this latter department of the inquiry.

As to the present *machinery* and *arrangements* of the society for carrying its objects into effect, it may for most of our readers be superfluous to observe, that there is the general Standing Committee, of which the province and authority do not seem to be very exactly defined; there is the Tract Committee, for the purpose of superintending the religious publications of the society; there is the Foreign Committee, for the translation of the Bible and its subordinate accessaries in the work of religious instruction into a variety of languages, and their diffusion throughout the globe; there is the Committee in the Strand, for the purposes of general literature and education; there must, perhaps, be a Financial Committee, if the society is next to become its own bookseller; there are the District Committees in the country; and there are gentlemen employed in separate and independent tasks, as, for in-

stance, Messrs. Lonsdale and Hale, in preparing a new edition of the Scriptures, with notes and expositions.

When we look more closely at this large and diversified horizon, several anomalies and discrepancies emerge upon it to our sight. The Foreign Committee, for instance, seem to belong to a new and different society, engrafted upon the old; for the subscribers are admitted without ballot, and although their subscriptions may be equal, or superior, in amount, to those of the usual contributors, they will not thereby become members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The Strand Committee, again, is not, properly considered, so much a branch of a religious and charitable society, which undergoes a certain and calculable loss upon the mass of its transactions, and therefore which requires not merely a capital in the first instance, but a steady and perpetual supply of subscriptions; as a large trading association or company, speculating in new productions upon the chance of profit or loss, according to the success or failure of its publications. Waiving, however, these considerations, let us turn to the Tract Committee, with which we have a more immediate concern; and, that our notions may be more correct, let us take a rapid glance at some of the meetings and occurrences which preceded its institution.

For some time, the sober and business-like character of the ordinary meetings of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," had been exchanged for scenes, somewhat painful and indecorous in their immediate aspect, and yet menacing worse evils for the future than the inconveniences which they inflicted at the moment. Not merely were objections frequently made to particular tracts on the list of the society, or certain passages in particular tracts; but these objections were frequently introduced by long and declamatory speeches. It was felt, or feared, that some members, who held peculiar views of Christian doctrine—and men not, perhaps, the most discreet, and learned, and experienced of their party—fluent and prodigal of words, and bitten with the *cacoe!hes loquendi*,—were anxious to turn a religious association into something like a debating club, and, if they could not effect their ostensible objects, at least have the pleasure and the glory of exhibiting *themselves*. Moreover, proposals to change or modify the composition of the standing committee were made by other persons, considerably different in the *calibre* of their minds, as well as in the general estimation. Mr. Benson moved that a part of the committee should go out in rotation at specified times; and thus that an infusion of new blood should be constantly poured into its arteries. Mr. Hill moved, at a subsequent meeting, that several additional members should be intro-

duced, with a view of rendering the constitution of the committee less exclusive than heretofore. In the fate of these propositions the liveliest anxiety was manifested. The Standing Committee resisted them both, and with success. The committee, however, seemed in some measure to admit their principle; for, at the meeting in April, a notification was given to the subscribers, that a Tract Committee was to be appointed, composed of members whose names were read, and who had been selected from *all* parties, carefully and by design. Three bishops were also mentioned as referees. The notification was judged to be informal without the previous sanction of the society; and Mr. Campbell then stated, that, in order to obviate any irregularity, he would bring forward a distinct motion on the subject, at a special meeting, which was afterwards appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury for the 2d of May.

There never, probably, was a notice which occasioned so much interest or agitation in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Hopes and fears were equally excited. On both sides the newspapers took up the matter; and on both sides it seemed to be considered as "*the beginning*" of a series of extensive and important changes; whether by "the Record," which hailed it by anticipation as a triumph in itself, and the herald of wide and brilliant improvements; or by the "John Bull," which deprecated it as the first step to dismemberment and subversion. But, besides these two extremes of sentiment, many men had their doubts and disquietudes on quite independent grounds. They discerned sundry obvious advantages in the proposed plan; but they also saw, or imagined that they saw, the danger of in fact committing the theology of the association to seven arbiters, who, however respectable by character, and station, and acquirement, yet maintained various and perhaps conflicting, opinions.

The second of May arrived; and they, who were present at that memorable meeting, will not easily forget it. Members crowded to Lincoln's-inn Fields from all quarters of the country; and the rooms were overflowing long before the business of the day commenced. A large proportion of the episcopal bench were present; and many may still remember with a smile the somewhat *naïve* explanation which was given of some little confusion which had been heard, while the archbishop was reading the prayers: "May it please your grace, there are three more bishops waiting at the door, and they cannot get admittance."

After a kind and Christian exhortation from the president, warning the assembly against a repetition of the violent intemperance which had created scandal and annoyance in a previous meeting, Mr. Campbell opened his motion with a speech which

struck even men of the most opposite sentiments as being remarkably lucid in its details and able in its argument. We write simply from personal recollection; but, as far as it serves us, we should say, that the object of the Reverend Gentleman was to show, that the proposers and advocates of a Tract Committee were not so much innovators, as renovators; that the plan, in its main features, was either a recurrence to old usages, or an adoption of former recommendations; that the division of labour was always good in principle, and that in the existing case it was absolutely indispensable to the practical operations of the society; that complaints had been loud and frequent as to the inefficiency of the society's publications; that more spirit and power must be thrown into them, in order that they should keep pace with the intelligence of the age; that, whatever misrepresentations might have gone abroad, there was no disposition to fling overboard the orthodox divinity which the society had always upheld: but, at the same time, that vast and incalculable benefits might result from an attempt to reconcile and harmonize various parties and various opinions within the pale of the Establishment, in proportion as it would be a sad, a lamentable, a pernicious spectacle, to exhibit to infidels, to Dissenters, and to the country at large, that the Church of England was so split and rent by intestine divisions, that its adverse sections could not act upon the same committee in the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

In conclusion, Mr. Campbell, seconded by Mr. Tyler, proposed his motion to the effect—for we only pretend to give the *substance* of proceedings, and not any accurate report—that a Committee be appointed, having for its province to consider and revise the tracts and religious publications of the society, composed of the seven following members:—the Rev. Hugh James Rose, the Rev. Dr. D'Oyly, the Rev. Mr. Ward, the Rev. Mr. Lonsdale, the Rev. Dr. Dealtry, the Rev. Mr. Baker, the Rev. Mr. Cunningham; and that there should be a reference to the three following bishops:—the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Bangor, and the Bishop of Chester.

Dr. Spry then proposed an amendment, to the tenor of which, as it appears, Messrs. Campbell and Tyler had previously assented,—limiting the powers and jurisdiction of the Committee, placing a more direct authority in the hands of the Episcopal Referees, and increasing their number to *five*, by the added names of the Bishop of Gloucester and the Bishop of Lincoln.

On the other events of the morning we have no room to expatiate; as, for instance, on the uncompromising remarks of the Bishop of Durham; on the piteous cries of adjournment to the Freemasons' Hall, by which they were interrupted; on the immi-

uent danger in which the assembly was placed, of having to walk through the thoroughfares of London, headed by the archbishops and bishops, in a procession which might have astonished the staring multitudes in the streets, scarcely less than the sudden re-appearance of a Canterbury pilgrimage; or the descent of Mr. Campbell and Dr. Spry to another room for the purpose, we must not say of "fighting their battles o'er again," for contention there was none, but of explaining the nature of the motion and the amendment, to the throng, who, before listeners, but not hearers, had been huddled together at the door-ways and on the stairs. It is enough that the result was highly gratifying. The motion, in its amended shape, was carried with hardly a dissentient voice, and hardly a hand held up against it; and a meeting, over which, from its first announcement, there had hung the threatening indications of a coming tempest, passed off amidst the calm and the sunshine of an almost perfect concord.

But, while we repeat our gratification at the result, we would prevent future errors, of which the consequences might be deplorable, by stating, without a particle of ambiguity or concealment, the causes which produced it. Ingenious arguments and conciliatory language may unquestionably have done something; but, of themselves, they could no more have dispelled the rising symptoms of hostility, than the progress of a hurricane could be arrested by a whisper.

Vain would it have been to talk about the necessity for a division of labour; and the impracticability that so large a body as the Standing Committee, and one so occupied with the other transactions of the society, should examine, with the requisite minuteness, the literary and doctrinal merits of its publications, and decide upon contested passages in the tracts. For it would have been answered,

"We quite acknowledge the utility and the value of a division of labour; but there is another principle which it is altogether as essential to keep in view, namely, the *unity of design*. If we look only to the internal constitution of this proposed committee, it seems formed of elements which cannot assimilate or work together. But we must go farther. We must look at the society as a whole, and its various committees as parts of a whole. We must take care that they do not clash one with another. We must take care that 'they all speak the same thing.' We must take care that the future proceedings of the society shall not belie the past proceedings, and that it shall not utter one language in Lincoln's-inn Fields, and a different language in the Strand; that the doctrine of its tracts shall coincide with the doctrine of its sermons; and that the comments in its occasional publications shall not militate against the interpretation of the Scriptures put forth, or to be put forth, in its own authorized edition. In a word, we must take care

that the integrity and the *identity* of the association be preserved. When we go through the names of the seven gentlemen who are to form this committee, and then turn to the names of other gentlemen upon whom the society has rested other labours and other responsibilities, have we any guarantee or security that such will be the case?"

Vain, again, would it have been, to allege the happy prospect of tranquillizing perturbations and mitigating animosities, by means of a committee which might harmoniously blend the several hues of temperate opinion into the same series of publications. For we know that it would have been answered,

"Truth is always one; and, therefore, there can be but one hue which reflects and represents it. Besides, are we not told that the society is on the eve of a new era; that a brighter and better order of things is about to commence? For what, then, are we to look? For what are we to prepare ourselves, and make up our minds? Other parties may look at this matter as it suits their convenience. They may vary their tone, as they would attain their *own* object, or persuade us to resign *ours*. But which branch of the alternative is to be chosen? If arguments are wanted for a strong attack, *then* the points of controversy are vital and fundamental; if inducements are to be urged for a weak defence, *then* they are slight and unimportant, scarcely worth a contest, distinctions without a difference! But surely we may retort such reasoning, and say, if they are slight, it can hardly be a wise or a safe course to change on their account the constitution of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and why, therefore, are alterations pressed upon us with so importunate an obstinacy?—If they are essential, then we, holding the sentiments which we do hold, and must hold, are more than justified in a firm, unflinching, and uncomplying resistance. We will not here inquire whether the doctrines of the Church of England are Calvinistic, or Arminian, or both, or neither; but it is self-delusive, if not criminal, to treat the differences lightly, as if small and superficial, while other parties lay a stress upon them, as being deep and dangerous. For, in such a case, it would not be difficult to foretell on which side would be the energy; and, therefore, on which side would be the success."

Vain, moreover, from similar causes, would it have been to recommend a supply of tracts commensurate with the demands of the people, in an *intellectual* as well as religious point of view. For our own parts, we are clearly of opinion, that there has been enough, and more than enough, of "adaptation to the meanest capacity." When we think of the productions which are now most greedily devoured by the lower classes,—of the average contents of *their* penny publications,—of the Sunday newspapers, composed purposely for the millions, and made up for their market—of "the Pioneer," and other organs of the Unions,—and of the style which the Dissenters use from the pulpit and from the press, we are more and more convinced that the most ruinous of

all mistakes is, to write *below* the powers and the expectations of the popular understanding. To write *above* them may be an error, but it is often regarded as a compliment; and there is the hope, not always a groundless hope, of raising men by degrees to the higher level which is required; but to write *below* them is to be stranded by design; or to tow a heavy vessel on a dark and sluggish stream, while they, who ought to be with us, are gaily crossing the bridge which is flung over it. Works so written the people will not read: they will turn away from them with a smile of contempt; or, perhaps, resent them as an affront, and almost become alienated from the persons who offer them to their notice. But, nevertheless, it would have been answered,

“The tracts may require somewhat more of vigour, somewhat more of life, somewhat more of attractiveness. Yet, here, there is no wonder and no fault. They were well fitted for the times in which they were compiled; but *now* they may be suited only to the very young or to the very old. The surrounding community may have outgrown them. As society steps into its manhood and swells into the fulness of its intellectual stature, much of its former literature will seem childish and contracted, alike deficient in comprehensiveness and depth. But the distinction must be drawn. The theology put forth by a religious association is not to vary with its literature. Our religious tenets are variable only so far as new light is thrown upon the Bible, or struck out of the Bible. When the evidences in support of our faith are deemed conclusive, the Scriptures must be to the Christian just what the whole material or objective world is to the natural philosopher, and the whole immaterial or subjective world is to the metaphysician. Natural science, then, is infinitely progressive, because progressive discoveries in the whole volume of nature can never be exhausted. And so in the religion of the Bible, there is a certain progression as to almost unnumbered matters of history and criticism; but the great doctrines can hardly be said to be progressive in the same sense; because no new facts can well be brought to the surface, and because they may be stated in a few brief, definite, and unalterable averments. Religion is not a science of progressive experiments, but is fixed in one declaratory, positive, authoritative revelation. We, therefore, will not consent that seven persons should be made the depositaries of the theology of thousands; unless we may assert the immutability of the spiritual part of our tracts; inasmuch as our religion is immutable, and what is orthodoxy now must be orthodoxy always; while we allow the progressiveness of the intellectual part, because the intelligence of the people is progressive. To us it appears as sacred a duty to maintain the theological character of this society unimpaired, as it *can* appear to any other persons to alter it. We must not be frightened by terms, or scared at watch-words of abuse. We may be accused of intolerance; but if our intolerance is intolerance of doctrinal unsoundness, we trust that we shall always be intolerant. We may be taunted with exclusiveness; but, if our exclusiveness is the exclusiveness of truth, we cannot help it, and we cannot regret it: for it is

the very nature of truth to be exclusive. The truth, which should admit alliance with error ; or which, instead of being one and unchangeable, should be fluctuating and manifold ; or, in other words, the truth, which should not be exclusive, would be no longer truth. In such a cause, then, a man must be determined, if he is in earnest, and must be in earnest, if he is conscientious. We see every thing in Christianity which enjoins an inflexible adherence to ‘ sound doctrine’ and ‘ the form of sound words ;’ we see nothing in the Gospel which inculcate a spurious liberality at the expense of faith and truth.”

So, yet farther, vain would it have been to urge the advantage of attaching the largest possible number of friends to the society by the amicable exchange of mutual concessions. For it would have been answered, as by the Bishop of Durham it *was* answered, “ Conciliation is only another name for compromise.” It would have been answered,

“ We want stability of system, rather than coalition of parties. If the concessions are mutual, then, on both sides, doctrines must be sunk ; and none will be gainers but those who believe least. We must either have a pie-bald, heterogeneous, self-confuting, discordant divinity ; or else see the distinctive tenets of our faith diluted into colourless and tasteless generalities. God forbid that we should ever see a picture of Christianity composed entirely of neutral tints. But if the concessions are not mutual, are we to allow a victory over ourselves, which we should be the first to deplore as fatal to the Society and to the Church ?”

In short, we have known it declared, that it must be suicidal in the majority of a body—and only not deserving a verdict of “ *felo de se*,” because springing from “ *temporary insanity*,”—to yield tamely to opponents whose manifest aim it has long been to treat the Society almost as cooks treat a lobster, and keep it in hot water in order to boil it into a new complexion. And vain, above all things, would it have been to advocate the *repose* which might have accrued from a pliant policy or temporizing expedients. For to representations such as these, the other party have, it appears to us, a triumphant reply. They say, and we think justly,

“ We are told that we shall give offence and provoke hostility. But which is better, to offend men, or to sacrifice principles ? Besides, universal experience teaches us, that when two parties have an object to contend for, the exactions of the one will be always proportioned to the timid weakness of the other. Truth is better and more precious than peace ; but that is not our argument. Our argument is, that to surrender truth for the sake of peace, is a certain specific for losing both. The present semblance of harmony entails a reality of future and interminable discord ; and the first concession involves every other concession. For the sake of peace we must resign all that is worth a struggle ; and we shall keep nothing in tranquillity, because we shall never be allowed to enjoy tranquillity, while there is any thing to keep. It is a

madness rather than a mistake, to desert, for the sake of peace, a fragment of our principles, unless we are prepared to abandon them all. For the same reasons which persuaded us to abandon the part, may be urged with yet stronger force as inducements to abandon the remainder. They who once waver in the battle are almost lost; but they who once turn their backs have, with every successive moment, less and less scruple, less and less shame, in quickening their coward pace, until they rush helter-skelter from the field, in a confused, disorderly, irretrievable rout. Either, therefore, we must maintain our principles in their integrity, or we must entirely give them up. Which, then, shall we do? Shall we defend the fortress, as brave men, who know its value? or, even before we are fairly vanquished, shall we go out, like John of Calais, with the keys in our hands, and the halter round our necks? Shall we endeavour strenuously and firmly to promote the cause which we believe to be the good cause?—or shall we suffer a system which we deem to be a mischievous system, to advance with rapid, and exulting, and uninterrupted success? To state the question is to answer it. Oh, away, then, with that illegitimate and craven conciliation, which would afford a premium to the encroachments and outrages of folly, which encourages error to be more and more exorbitant, and which delivers truth and right as bound, and helpless, and prostrate victims to the tender mercies of violence and wrong.”

But if all these things could have been stated, why, it may well be asked, why was Mr. Campbell’s motion, modified by Dr. Spry’s amendment, received with favour so universal and complete? We might answer, perhaps, precisely because it was modified by Dr. Spry’s amendment. Forbearance, too, might have been exercised, in compliance with the excellent advice of the president of the society,—advice quite sufficient for its purpose, without the succeeding “*admonition*” of a gentleman unknown. But there is another circumstance to which the consummation of harmony “so devoutly to be wished,” is mainly attributable. The Standing Committee, who had been exposed to the imputation of veering and changing their position, and striving only to trim the boat so that it should float for the moment smoothly and easily down the stream;—in fact, of resisting a motion at one meeting, and themselves proposing a very similar motion at the next,—at length took up a firmer and more intelligible ground. They could give no guarantee for the futurity, which will be beyond their controul; but they have given some pledge of their own intentions. On the very day of Mr. Campbell’s motion, a circular, from which we take the following extracts, was distributed to the members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The date, however, is April the 14th.

“The Society’s proceedings having been grossly misrepresented in some of the public papers, especially in regard to its books and tracts,

we are directed to state briefly, for your information, what has taken place respecting them, at the meetings of the Society, during the present year.

“ At the meeting in January, the Board, with the view of preventing the recurrence of some unpleasant and injurious discussions, which had taken place respecting the Society's tracts, agreed to the following resolution :—

“ ‘ That any tract which shall be objected to by three members at any meeting of this Board, be referred, without discussion or division, together with a written statement of the objections, to the Standing Committee, with a request that they will report on the same, at their earliest convenience.’ ”

“ Since that time no discussions have taken place at the Board respecting any particular tract ; but objections have been made, in writing, to two of the Society's publications, namely, the ‘ Pious Parishioner Instructed,’ and the ‘ Great Importance of a Religious Life.’ These objections were referred, in accordance with the above resolution, to the Standing Committee. The report of the Standing Committee on the first of these publications was presented to the Board at the general meeting in March, and was in the following terms :—

“ ‘ The Standing Committee, having carefully considered the objections which have been urged against the tract, the ‘ Pious Parishioner Instructed,’ are by no means disposed to recommend that it should be removed from the list of the society's publications. Of those objections some appear to the committee to be wholly unfounded ; of some they are unable to perceive the force ; while others, directed against particular passages, which are liable to be misunderstood when taken without reference to the general tenor of the book, may be easily obviated in a future edition. And the Committee beg to assure the board, that they will carefully revise the tract with that view.’ ”

“ The report on the ‘ Great Importance of a Religious Life,’ which was presented at the last general meeting, was as follows :—

“ ‘ The Committee *have carefully considered the objections* made to the tract entitled, the ‘ Great Importance of a Religious Life.’ They are of opinion that the tract is highly useful ; and the large circulation which it has obtained for many years is a proof that it is generally acceptable to the members of the Society. The Committee, however, think *the objections to certain passages deserve consideration* ; and that the tract should be revised, with a view to obviate those objections.’ ”

“ You will readily perceive, by the tenor of these proceedings, that although the Society is perfectly willing to *examine into the truth* of any charges which may be brought against its publications, it is not disposed to yield to unreasonable objections, *nor to give up those principles of sound doctrine, which it has so long maintained.* And the members may be assured, that in recommending any improvement which may be necessary, in order to adapt its operations to the circumstances of the times, the Standing Committee will be most anxious to *maintain unchanged the character of the society* as an institution formed for the purpose of pro-

moting sound religious knowledge, according to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.'

We will not affect to think, that this is the most explicit of documents :—but it was satisfactory as far as it went, and it was well-timed. Some of the expressions are peculiarly, perhaps studiously, indefinite :—it is a most “lame and impotent conclusion” to say, that “the Committee HAVE *carefully considered objections*,” and “think that the *objections to certain passages deserve consideration* ;” and some persons, we conceive, may look upon the whole circular as the production of men, who felt that they were compelled to say something, and yet were determined to say as little as possible. Still, although cautious in its terms, its import could hardly be mistaken, even without the key of Mr. Campbell’s speech ; and, coming simultaneously with that gentleman’s motion, it materially contributed to disarm opposition, to avert an impending storm, and assist the formation of the Tract Committee. Other objections have since been done away by the resolution, that the Committee, in its present shape, is little more than a *provisional* experiment: that the members must, before the complete expiration of two years, be elected afresh ; and that they are thus placed under very considerable limitations, both as to *time*, and as to *power*. Under these circumstances, although our expectations are not altogether sanguine, as to such a combination of men, however personally excellent and unexceptionable, while differences of opinion continue unsettled, we do most cordially hope, that the Committee will have a fair trial ; that no vexatious obstructions will be thrown in its way ; and that it will realize the wishes of its most ardent friends. In all human probability, if it weathers the existing commotions, every succeeding period will invest it with more and more efficiency ; and the chances will be more and more in favour of its being eventually and largely instrumental in allaying heats, and composing dissensions, and showing that there is no fatal centre of repulsion, to disunite the steady and temperate members of the Church.

Still, we would anxiously repeat, that this happy issue is to be ascribed to the assurance afforded, and the impression made, by the “Circular,” far more than to any other cause. Thus an anchor was let down and fixed ; and the vessel has been kept steadfast in her moorings. Draw up the anchor, and who shall say, whither the vessel will drift ? All will be at sea again ; and heave upon the tumbling billows, with the very pilots uncertain of their course.

We take the past as our index to the present and the future.

An extreme line of conduct is not required ; but nothing will go well without an ascertained and palpable line.

There are four principal aspects, in which the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge may be regarded :—

1. The theological character of the Society and its publications.
2. The influence exerted by the Society upon the general literature and knowledge of the country.
3. The internal arrangements of the Society, and the distribution of authority among its members.
4. The pecuniary and commercial concerns of the Society.

Of these four aspects, we have confined our attention almost exclusively to the first ; both because the theological question is of immeasurably more importance than any other question can be ; and because its adjustment, we are sure, will lead to a more easy adjustment of the rest. Difficulties, indeed, there will remain, many and great difficulties ; but men will approach the discussion with a disposition to heal rather than aggravate them. Other topics, it is true, deserve and demand a most serious inquiry ; but the inquiry will be conducted in a very different spirit, as religious disagreements are, or are not, rankling in men's minds.

For instance, as to the second point of view, questions will and must arise, with respect to the nature, and extent, and diversity, of the proceedings of the Society. The considerations will occur, whether the Society is not stretching out its arms almost too widely, with its Foreign Committee and its Strand Committee ; since we are told in the Report that, long ago, "*the sphere of operations became so extended that it was found necessary to separate the institution into two distinct branches.*" One of these branches was incorporated by a charter from William the Third, under the name of "*The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.*" And, again, the great work of Education "*was transferred to the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church.*" At least it may be argued, that the vast extension of its concerns involves a necessity for proportionate care in the management of the Society, a more complete order and method in the regulation of its arrangements. The propriety, again, may be doubted, of attaching a large trading, speculating, publishing Company, as an integral part of a religious and charitable Association ; and subjects may be started bearing upon some apprehended collision with other Societies, or with private interests. But when these matters shall be placed simply upon their own grounds of expediency, or practicability, or economy, the truth may soon be elicited ; and a sound dispassionate conclusion may be soon attained.

Thus, too, as to the third point, questions will and must arise as to anomalies and inconsistencies, real or imagined; as to the rights of country members, and the privileges of district committees. It may be said that all the subscribers to the same society should be placed as nearly as possible on a par; that it is strange for an association to recommend the formation of district committees, and yet allow them no collective voice in the association itself, and no representation by chosen delegates. It may be urged that some suggestion like Mr. Perceval's should be tried; or some other plan adopted for the satisfaction of men who may think that the religious excitements of a vast city, and the number of proprietary chapels, and the ambition fostered by large and fashionable congregations, and almost unnumbered circumstances of time, and place, and personal interest, may engender a somewhat different tone of divinity from the tenor which prevails in the quiet and more obscure ministrations of country parishes. But if the theology was definitively settled, how many of these questions would fall at once to the ground; how comparatively little could the most distant subscribers object to intrust their interests to the London clergy; and how soon would that discussion, or that controversy, in the district committees, which is now so much dreaded, be found to be a healthy vent, rather than a dangerous inconvenience.

We might pursue these remarks into many smaller details; as, for instance, into the question, which has been sometimes raised, as to the right or competency of any committee, or any society, to tamper with an author's productions after his death, or in any way alter a publication without the knowledge and consent of the writer, continuing nevertheless to put it forth under his name. Now this inquiry, and all similar inquiries in reality, take their sting from a latent or avowed suspicion, that the theology of the association is unhinged, or likely to be unhinged. Wherever there is the very narrowest opening, religious disagreements will insinuate themselves into the crevices; and we might confirm our position by illustrations drawn from the pecuniary, and commercial, and mechanical transactions of the Society; nay, even by the question, whether it should be its own bookseller, or employ, as, heretofore, the publishers, with whose house it has been so long connected. But on this subject we forbear from adding a word.

The first thing, then, and the second, and the third, is for the Society to follow up its circular-address, and take its stand upon the adamantine basis of its ancient doctrines. We do not mean that no expressions are to be modified, no slips and inadvertencies corrected; but we contend that the inviolability of the fundamental tenets of the Society, *recognised as its presiding principle*,

will be the auxiliary, nay, rather the lever or moving power of all other improvements; but without such recognition, neither will other improvements be found practicable, nor can harmony be ensured from month to month. It is for the *sake* of the Standing Committee, and in sincere respect for the Standing Committee, that we speak, when we declare that there are malcontents who will speak of them in terms like the following, as long as their minds are clouded with *one shadow* of distrust:—

“ They must put out, not a guarded, dubious, vote-catching manifesto, ambiguous as a Delphic oracle, but a clear, straight-forward, specific guide to the subscribers, about which there can be no mistake. They must take a decided tone; they must fix a standard. If it is never fixed, what tranquillity, what order, can there be in the meetings of the Society, or what efficiency in its operations? If they mean ultimately to fix it, there is almost bad faith in not fixing it at once. And what but eventual enmity can exist in the breasts of the very party which they would propitiate, if they advance only to draw back, and open the door only to shut it, and excite hopes only to disappoint them ?”

So there has been a complaint—probably a well-grounded complaint—that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has been lately turned into a debating society; at least an arena on which the gladiators might descend with the net prepared, and the sword sharpened; or a tilting-ground on which the champions and knight-errants of controversy might enter the lists. The evil is apparent; but, until things are put upon a sure footing, it is inevitable. Vanity is much; but stronger and better feelings have been called into action than vanity. As long as some men desire changes, and think that they can achieve them by declamation, declaim they will at the top of their lungs, and to the extent of their eloquence. As long as other men apprehend that subversive projects are in contemplation, what room is there for blame or for surprise, if they lift up their voices in self-defence, and seize every opportunity of protesting against them ?

So, again, the country subscribers were for years quiescent, because they reposed confidence in the London Committee. Let that confidence be once shaken; and either they must be admitted to something like a full and equal voice in the proceedings of the Society; or their subscriptions will be withdrawn; or their remonstrances will be perpetual, and their expostulations peremptory. *As long as there is doubt, there will be always uneasiness; as long as there is uneasiness, there will be always agitation.*

In offering these sentiments, we would speak as moderate

men, having the cause of moderation warmly at heart. We ought not, perhaps, to fear that moderation will be confounded with pusillanimity; for inward constancy and self-repose, free from timidity, because assured of its own purposes, and the legitimacy of their scope, and the practicability of their execution, is the only basis and best guarantee of a genuine moderation; whereas pusillanimity is altogether destructive of it, because for ever oscillating between the extreme points of violence and fear.

But there is some danger that moderation may be confounded with an irresolute and vacillating policy. Yet, if a moderate line of conduct means an undecided, wavering, shifting line of conduct, moderation is a poor and contemptible quality: if a moderate line of conduct means a time-serving line of conduct, that turns and changes with the ebbs and flows in the patronage of the few, or the caprice of the many, then moderation is a base and dastardly quality; and, instead of being lauded as a virtue, ought be driven out of society with the curse and brand of every honest mind upon its name. But by moderation we would signify that mild and even, yet courageous wisdom, which takes a calm and practical survey of the objects and interests of human life, not under a single aspect, but in every possible or rational point of view,—which preserves the equipoise between opposite extremes, because it discerns the narrowness or partiality of perception from which they severally spring,—which estimates aright the value of things; and the feasibility of their adoption; and therefore proceeds to act upon its determinations without flurry, without bluster, without precipitation, but still without fluctuation and without delay. It is the steadiest and firmest of all principles; precisely because it has weighed and deliberated well; and, therefore, nothing can occur to take it by surprise, and disconcert its measures; no new elements are likely to spring up, of which it has not calculated the existence and the force.

It is this sort of moderation, we are well assured, at which the members of the middle party in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—that party which has been usually victorious in the Standing Committee—have been aiming throughout. Yet we also think that they have hitherto missed the mark—we will not say by following where they might have led, and swimming with the current which it was their business to direct—but from not defining their views with a line sufficiently broad and clear—from leaning first on one side, and then on the other—from showing an alternate bias to incompatible theories, in the vain hope, as we apprehend, of conciliating conflicting opinions—for conflicting interests there are none—and from borrowing, by turns, here a bit from one system, and there a bit from another,

instead of grasping and retaining a stable and open policy of their own. And what has been the consequence? They *have* in some cases neutralized their influence, and exposed their principles to suspicion, by instilling a natural, if not reasonable, doubt as to their motives and designs. The members of the Society throughout the country have been precluded from placing in them that full and cordial reliance which their station and character deserve; for uncertainty, we say again, is the death-blow to confidence. Cautious and reflecting men have held themselves aloof until they could see their way; and, unless a firm hold is gained on the one side or on the other, the champions at the opposite extremities will endeavour to use them as instruments for defeating their immediate antagonists, with the same ulterior intention—the only sentiment, perhaps, which they hold in common—of turning round and crushing the middle, or liberal, party at the first convenient opportunity.

The guiding principles, then, of the Tract Committee, and of all the other committees, must be accurately marked out by the Society, and not left to individual discretion, whatever be their constitution, and whoever their members. And if they *are* already marked out, they must be sacredly observed. But here we stop at once—for it would be an unpardonable imprudence to *suggest* a doubt, which we are not ungenerous enough, or unjust enough, to entertain.

Another thing wanted, as it appears to us, is a more perfect organization of the government and direction of the Society. That unity in variety, which is the great law of nature, must not be overlooked in the midst of its multifarious concerns. It may be requisite that *the division of labour* should be still more complete than it has hitherto been; but it is more requisite to bear in mind, that the division of labour can never be mapped and planned with accuracy, until the boundaries of the Society, *as a whole*, have been adjusted; and the entire sweep of its operations has been made known. We are therefore of opinion, that the Society should possess a federal constitution more regular and better understood. Some of our readers would perhaps be more pleased, if we said that the principle of *centralization*, which is now so fashionable, might be applied with advantage. But the word would not express our meaning. We are far from desiring that all the business should be taken out of the hands of several *co-ordinate* committees, and thrown into one central board. Our wish is, that there should be a Tract Committee, a Financial Committee, and as many more committees as may be needed for the multiplicity of transactions; but that, in addition, there should be *some General Committee*, to which they should all be subor-

minated; while that committee would be itself responsible to the Society at large: some great regulating committee, composed of the most experienced and dignified members of the association; a body, not so much to be burdened with the trouble of originating measures, or taking the initiative part, as to form a supreme board of revision, of appeal, of reference, of superintendence, of control; which would command the confidence of the subscribers; which would check and keep together the other agencies at work; and so preserve something of consistency, order, and sameness throughout all the ramifications and proceedings of the Society.

If some such measures are adopted, we shall ourselves anticipate "*a new era*" for the Society, and discern in it the most powerful of instruments for diffusing Christianity and for strengthening the Church. As to the continuance and extension of *partial changes*, without some *general* scheme of survey and regulation, serious doubts may be felt on the score of safety or of expediency; but if such measures as we have mentioned be adopted, the directors will have a sure *fulcrum* for their future undertakings; they will have no need of that adroitness of tactics, which has conjured up points of form in moments of emergency, and stopped the mouths of speakers by some bye-law of the association;—for all will be contented, except the very few whom nothing can content—and these few, not persons who possess, or can possess, influence in the Society; but others, who, not satisfied that their minds have been steeped and salted in prejudice, are never happy, unless their prejudices can be kept constantly in *soak*.

But *unless* the theology be fixed, and there be some systematic *revision of the Society as a whole*, what is it likely to become? It is likely to become an assemblage of disjointed and discordant members—without a head;—a thing, which, from a too rapid growth, has shot up out of all symmetry and proportion;—a motley and miscellaneous collection of incongruous features, an almost promiscuous jumble of contradictions, or, at best, a rocking Bable of loose and unmortared structures—a Society, with a hundred projects on the anvil, but none dovetailed and cemented together, the transactions laughing at the rules, the immediate proceedings striving to undo and nullify the past history and original constitution; and the last amplifications only a revival, under other names, of the very designs, which had been previously dropped, as too unwieldy for the management of a single association, according to the express declarations of the last report.

The present arrangements, it is evident, cannot be the final arrangements. This Society, like the whole world around it, is

in a state of transition; and, also, like the whole world around it, must be content to bear with the disputes and discomforts incident to such a state. The fountains have been broken up; but the stirred and troubled waters have not had time to subside into a new condition of repose.

Our observations are not meant to toss the billows into a more tumultuous excitement. We have delayed them, by design, until they shall appear on the very day of the last meeting of the Society for the season; a period which is too late to augment the outbreak of angry and tumultuous feelings, and which just precedes the clear space of three months, which must intervene before any stormy proceedings can be by possibility renewed. We do trust that some opportunities will be seized in the interval by the managers of the Society, for taking a calm, deliberate, and comprehensive review of its whole position; and it is chiefly in that hope that we have ventured, firmly and frankly, but with sincere deference and respect, to submit the foregoing remarks to their attention.

Professions are almost always idle: but they must here be worse than idle, if the tenor of our strictures contradicts them. We leave our observations, therefore, to speak for themselves. Keen, however, will be our disappointment, unless they shall be considered as bearing evidence, that we have no disposition to annoy, no desire to embarrass, the present directors of the society; that we are not about to become either the organs or the instruments of a splenetic and factious opposition; but that our wish has been rather to stand apart, that we might have the opportunity of surveying the general circumstances from a more favourable point of view, and pointing out, as spectators of the game, what the more interested players may have been too busy to see. At the same time, the posture of affairs in the Church, even more than in the Society, is too critical for a timid silence, or a shrinking delicacy; and we should be utterly ashamed of disguising or concealing to what principles we are attached, and, if there should be a necessity for an actual struggle, what cause we shall espouse.

To those most excellent and estimable men, who have bound to them all the members of the Society by the ties of enduring gratitude; who long guided it and fostered it, although they are now rather on the side of opposition—it may be in us presumption to address ourselves. Yet we would assure them, that in the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, we are, like them, more anxious about the *quality* of that knowledge, than about its *quantity*; more anxious about the matter of the publications, than about the *manner* and the *style*. Let us, however, own, that,

while we are staunch "Conservatives" in the former respects, we are disposed to be *Liberals* in the latter. And our hope is most earnest, that they will not withhold from the present managers of the Association the assistance of their virtues, and authority, and experience, along the more extended line of its operations. Under no circumstances, assuredly, will they dream of secession. Their secession might ruin the Society; or, at least, might throw its direction into the very hands from which they are the most desirous to preserve it. They must not secede. The Society cannot spare them. We should miss them always: and as was said of the great of old, we might "miss them most in the day of battle."

Some secession, perhaps, there will be. Some there would be, perhaps, whether the doctrines of the Society were stable; or whether they adopted the huckstering principle of "*splitting the difference*." Some few may be driven away. This is an evil:—for we would not willingly lose one zealous and conscientious Christian:—but it is an infinitely less evil than others easy to be conceived. And we may reasonably doubt, whether, in the long run, there will not be gained a larger number of subscribers from a firmer and more exclusive, than from a more lax and pliant policy. Be this, however, as it may, we would adjure the party, termed Evangelical, not to press the Society *too* hard; not to urge their peculiar distinctions with too fierce a pertinacity. The Committee is pledged against them. It cannot even be supposed, that it has a wish to retract its pledge. If it had the wish, it would still be fixed and nailed to its own declarations. They cannot, then, be gainers. If they persist, they may be discountenanced, and their friends may be excluded. The meetings of the Society will be fewer: and less discussion will be allowed. The discords and discrepancies of the Society must be brought to a termination: and if *their* "agitation" is thought to be the root and origin of disturbance, the effect will be removed, by removing the cause. A little forbearance may prevent great mischief.

We have now finished the course of our remarks: and it is but too probable that we shall not have carried the entire approbation of any party along with us. The discussion may, however, have this use, that, if our sentiments cannot please others, they may at least afford them *data* for establishing their own, and materials for moulding them into a more specific shape. It may also do some service, in disposing *all* parties to think charitably and kindly, even if not gratefully, of the Managers of the Society; by showing that, "high and palmy" as is its existing state, they who direct it have no easy or unencumbered task: but have been frequently placed in positions, where the most clear-sighted ability

might mistake its way, and the firmest integrity might pause in hesitation. Their fortune has been, not to let their bark drive before the favourable gale,

“ On the smooth surface of a summer sea,”—

the skies all serene, and the waters all tranquil: but to steer a vessel, of which the timbers are not joined very safely and compactly together, in a perplexed and perilous navigation, amidst rocks on one side, and quicksands on the other, with a Scylla here, and a Charybdis there, and, too often, the clouds everywhere threatening, and the surges every where boiling madly round them. In the calmest times, it must be a matter of no light responsibility and no small embarrassment, to manage in a way which shall give general satisfaction, the interests of some sixteen thousand subscribers, and the expenditure of an annual revenue, amounting to some seventy or eighty thousand pounds: but the difficulty and delicacy of the undertaking must be increased tenfold, when every measure is watched with a jealous and suspicious scrutiny; when new parties are seeking to establish new dynasties; and when a polemical fermentation is at work in almost every breast.

We cannot bring this long article to a close, without again expressing a hope, that we may not have given offence, or inflicted pain, by the plainness of our speech, and the freedom with which we have ventured to offer advice to men

“ Older in practice, abler than ourselves
To make conditions.”

If the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge had been in a perfectly calm and comfortable state, we would not have written one syllable to disturb its tranquillity: but since it is too manifest that it has contained for months within itself the germs of perpetual disorder, if not of disorganization and dismemberment, silence would have been injustice, and the mere daubings of an indiscriminate praise would have been fulsome sycophancy; while we quite allow that the missiles of malignity, shot from behind the battlements of anonymous publication, would have been a darker, and dirtier, and more disgusting, baseness. Inveterate wounds have been festering within its bosom: and who could cure them without probing them?—who could heal them by treating and plastering them as skin-deep? Besides, as we began by saying, what is true of the Society, is true also, to a certain extent, of the Church in general. We consider the Directors, not merely as trustees of the funds, and repositories of the tenets, of the Association; but as stewards and guardians of the doctrines of the

Church of England. The maxims, which we have laboured to establish, have an application far wider than the bounds of the Society, magnificently extensive as they are: for they have the very widest application at a conjuncture, when matters of the most absorbing interest are at issue, and the dearest and holiest principles are at stake:—when true moderation is urgently required, and yet when the real nature of moderation is frequently and signally mistaken;—when, in some places, the violence of party-spirit makes men blind as with a wilful or judicial blindness, and deaf as the deaf adder that stoppeth her ears;—when, in other places, men pursue the unhappy system of treating a formidable antagonist with more favour and distinction than the faithful, but candid, friend;—the system, therefore, which, if it appeases one enemy, engenders and raises up fifty, since they are taught the advantage of opposition;—the system resembling that fatal policy, which disgraced and destroyed the Roman empire in its last days of feeble cowardice, anxious to buy off foes with a part of the possessions, which an insolent iniquity had invaded; while the bribe itself, the token at once of wealth and weakness, was an invitation and a premium for the renewal of the attack with greater fierceness, and determination, and confidence. On the other hand, a temperate firmness, united with a wise expansion and comprehensiveness of views, if it cannot save the nation, may at least set every thing to rights in the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. That Society was never yet so flourishing in its resources; it never yet occupied so large a space in the eye of the country; it never yet had such ample means of good at its disposal. May it always be true to itself and its own purposes: may its harmony be strengthened and assured: and may it accomplish, more and more, over a wider sphere, and with a more penetrating efficacy, its glorious end of promoting “*Christian Knowledge*”—that knowledge, which most improves man, and ennobles man, in the life present; while it *alone* can fit him for the happiness offered by redeeming mercy in the life to come. The blessing of Almighty God cannot but rest upon a cause so righteous—upon efforts so conformable to all that we can know either of His immutable essence, or of His revealed will.

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

THE three months, which have passed since our last publication, have been crowded with events interesting to the Church. They all, however, seem to turn upon the point, whether the Establishment is to be preserved in its essential purity as an ecclesiastical institution, and its essential authority as a co-ordinate power connected with the State. In our present number, therefore, we have devoted a considerable space to the purpose of showing—first, that it is a matter of comparatively small importance, that the Church should be maintained in the integrity of its political influence, unless it be also maintained in the integrity of its doctrines; and, secondly, that doctrinal innovations would very soon involve its political downfall. These two remarks we would here repeat as the key to our observations in more articles than one.

Let us now take a rapid glance at our actual position.

There have been periods in this country, when the pressure of financial difficulties threatened almost universal bankruptcy. There have been periods, again, when foreign invasion menaced the destruction of individual freedom and national existence. Yet a conjuncture so pregnant as the present with almost hopeless *embarrassments* the oldest men among us could not recollect. Life and liberty are not in peril; and yet holier and more precious things may be in jeopardy than either liberty or life.

The war of principles seems hurrying to a decisive struggle. Neutrality there cannot be much longer. Every honest man must soon take his station among the belligerents. In the shock of the coming collision, the men, who would be on neither side, or on both sides,—the trimmers—the temporizers—the prevaricators—will be the first to vanish. Either they will be crushed in the meeting of the hostile bodies, like a ship between two icebergs; or they will be swept away, as useless incumbrances, when the decks are cleared for action.

And then how will the opposite parties be arrayed? The composition of the antagonist forces is an astonishing and fearful spectacle. On the one side, we must rank the Monarch himself; on the other side, the confidential and responsible advisers of the Monarch. And the two branches of the Legislature are even more at variance than the King and his Ministers. We have a revolutionary House of Commons, and a conservative House of Lords. The one is urging the administration *beyond* the point where it would stop; the other would arrest and turn back its headlong course. And how are these knots to be untied? is the sovereign to inundate the nobility with new Peers for the purposes of accomplishing measures contrary to his own opinions, his own feelings, his own conscience? Or, is the omnipotence of the House of Commons to be

resisted? Or, is the Parliament to be dissolved, and an appeal made to the people? And, if it is made, what is likely to be the result? We tremble at the manner in which the present Ministry may conduct our affairs; and yet, perhaps, no other Ministry could be formed, which would be able to carry on the Government of this country for a month.

Again, if we look abroad into the mass of the nation, we find not so much party divided against party, as class against class. Very shortly, perhaps, may we see not Whig ranged against Tory, and Tory against Whig; but the poor against the rich, and the rich against the poor;—the few against the many, and the many against the few. The most fearful of all signs is, that the chasm is widening between the orders of society. We have pernicious “Unions” in the parts of the population to the utter disunion of the whole; and the master is at strife with the workman, and labour is erecting its banner against property.

Is it not true, then, that the position of the empire is most *embarrassing*? Who can survey it without the throbs of almost choking interest? Least of all can Churchmen remain indifferent. It is a Church question which has generated a diversity of sentiment between the King and his Ministers:—it is a variety of Church-questions, by which, chiefly, a want of agreement is exhibited between the two Houses of Parliament: it is a Church-question, which has split the Administration, and severed from it the soundest, the ablest, the most eloquent of its members;—and, as the Church-questions are wisely, or violently, managed, so, in general, will the country be blest with safe and steady improvements, or precipitately revolutionized through all its institutions.

Nor can there be a necessity for adding, that, as Mr. Whewell has truly and emphatically said, “The Church is the *heart* of our social body;”—that the contest is not *only* about the Church, although the Church may stand the brunt, and be the first point of immediate attack;—for that every man defends his own property in defending the property of the Church, and guards his own happiness in maintaining its integrity; and that, if Englishmen would rally round the throne, they must rally round the altar; and that, in rallying round the altar, they *do* rally round the throne.

But we must proceed more regularly; as our business is to give a slight register of events, and not any thing which can even wear the appearance of a rhetorical declamation.

Up to the moment at which we are writing, hostile demonstrations have been more remarkable than hostile acts. Much more has been threatened than done. Lord Brougham has introduced an extraordinary Bill in a manner still more extraordinary.—The curious opportunity chosen by his Lordship, precisely, when the English Bishops were absent from the House of Lords;—the discrepancy manifested between the Chancellor and the Head of the Administration—the surprise felt in *every* quarter—these are matters, which we shall not attempt to characterize. Lord Brougham cannot have the expectation—can hardly have the wish—to carry his measures in their actual shape. Should we be justified in giving the common solution of his Lordship’s conduct? Was his object just to retrieve his lost ground with the Dissenters? and then to leave the affair

"*in statu quo*?" Or did he kindly mean, by the extreme tendency of some of his enactments, to excite public sympathy *in favour* of pluralities and non-residence?

The Dissenters' Marriage Bill appears to have fallen to the ground, as being equally unsatisfactory to all parties concerned. Probably, however, some stronger measure is in contemplation. The measures about Church Rates and Commutation of Tithes in England seem also in abeyance. Mr. Brougham's Registration Bill has been taken up by the Government, and will, probably, in process of time, and with some modifications, be passed into a law. In the matter of Education the Ministers have adopted their favourite course of a Committee of Inquiry: and we might have thanked Lord Brougham for the tenor of his declarations, if he had not taken occasion, after his most approved manner, to sneer at Churchmen as being merely followers and imitators of the Dissenters. We have ourselves said, and we repeat, that the conservative portion of the Clergy and the Laity have much to answer for, through their want of *originating* bold and comprehensive measures of improvement, and more often taking the lead: but here the Lord Chancellor of England ought to have known; or, if he knew, he ought to have recollected; and, if he recollected, he ought to have mentioned, that the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge had taken under its care the business of popular instruction, long before the Dissenters, as a body, turned their attention to the subject.

In the Legislature, nothing new was adduced in the shape of argument; but the truth seemed to be felt, that State-Education will not necessarily thrive where it is an exotic, because it has thriven where it is an indigenous plant: and the danger will soon be seen, that, if there be State-Education, it will vary with the turns and fluctuations of the State; it must partake of the nature of the reigning opinions; and might in England become a cold unscriptural Education, just as under a military despotism we have seen an entirely military Education, and a whole land covered with polytechnic schools.

Among the other questions most nearly affecting the comforts and the character of the people, the foremost is the Bill relating to the Poor Laws. At present, we have neither space nor spirits to examine, under all its bearings, so nice, so vast, so intricate, and so complicated, a subject. The old system, whether from mal-administration or from inherent defects, was the parent of wide demoralization and growing wretchedness: God only grant that the new system may not kindle throughout the land the unextinguishable flames of a social war.

This mighty topic, however, as well as the not irrelevant subjects of Emigration and Colonization, as also of crime and punishment, and the uniform system of prison discipline proposed by Lord Wharnccliffe, we must reserve for future discussion. There is, however, one remark which we cannot omit. It is impossible to refrain from uttering a complaint as to the course and the managers of the debates in the House of Commons, upon motions relating to Education or to the Poor Laws. To whom was the discussion left? On the one side, chiefly to the Benthamites, on the other side, chiefly to Sir Samuel Whalley and Mr. Cobbett. But influential statesmen—our guides of practical wisdom and expe-

rience, what did they say or do? What leader among the Tories spoke on *either* side of the question with vigour and at length. What then? Was this a matter for the Tories to be *mute*? Do they consult their own interests, and the good of the country, by reserving their strength for holiday questions, and themes on which any spouter can declaim? It is with regret and surprise that we think of their suicidal infatuation. Had they *no* opinion in such a cause; and, if they had an opinion, was the cause so trivial that it was not worth while to deliver it? Oh, let them be assured in time, that reflecting men and religious men in the country place questions in a very different scale of relative importance from the partisans in the House of Commons; and that they can pardon any fault in their representatives rather than sloth, or indifference, or apathy. Are the conservative politicians determined that the people shall distrust and dislike them, from the belief that they are inert and supine, and take little or no interest in the grave and momentous, but calm and unimpassioned, inquiries, which involve the general improvement and happiness of mankind? Are they determined to justify Lord Brougham's sarcasm, that the mechanics of the land engross its patient thought, its solid and sturdy knowledge; but that the gentry of the land care only for flashy points of display, or, at best, graceful and superficial accomplishments? And, gracious God, what is to become of the country, if one party does *wrong*, and the other party does *nothing*!

Would that Sir Robert Peel, for instance, would, on the Education and the Poor Law questions, bring forth and exert, for we know well that he possesses, the same stores of information, the same power of argument, with which, on other matters of church and state, he has shattered and pulverized the sophisms of his antagonists, even on a stage which is generally adverse to his opinions!

Another of those delicate and perplexing subjects, which we are unwilling to touch, when we have not space for examination, is the *Religious Assemblies' Bill*. That the old prohibition had its inconveniences, in times and places where the population had outgrown the accommodation in churches, it would be unreasonable to deny; but we still apprehend that even greater inconveniences will arise, nay, results perhaps prejudicial to a regular ministry, and fatal to an establishment, and most injurious to religion itself, unless sound precautions are taken; or if, ultimately, it is found, or fancied, that every man has an equal right to preach every where. The only safe and wholesome thing obviously is to erect new temples, and ordain new ministers, wherever they are required. If there be so miserable and soul-debasing a parsimony, eating like a canker into the heart of the legislature and the people, that these things cannot be done, we suppose that some strange and middle plan must be adopted between the good old practices of family devotion and public worship; for it is easier to consecrate rooms than to build churches, and cheaper to get up expositions in private houses than support and fill edifices to the honour of God. But, oh, let us not regard as a triumph, the deep disgrace that we cannot, like our fathers, make the public spiritual provision commensurate with the public spiritual wants.

In an earlier part of this number of our Review will be found a discussion of the question which relates to the admission of Dissenters to degrees at the English

Universities. Yet an ecclesiastical record of the period would be most incomplete without some reference to the subject; as hardly any topic of the time has excited so much controversy, or among disputants so distinguished. At Oxford, Mr. Sewell has conveyed some excellent sense in pure, vigorous, and racy language. But Mr. Sewell and Mr. Maberly stand in no need of our commendations. The applause, with which their names were received in the theatre of the University to which they belong, must be a reward far dearer and more precious in their eyes than any praise which we could offer. As to Cambridge, we can only say, that on our speaking to a friend during the dry weather about the want of rain, his reply was, "*at Cambridge it rains pamphlets.*" It would be worse than superfluous here to go again through an examination of them; but it may save some trouble, and afford some guide to our readers just to mention, that the question of the admission of Dissenters has turned principally upon four points:

1. The *history* of the matter, and the ancient academical usages.
2. The weight of *authority* for, or against, the admission.
3. The *reasonableness* of the project in itself.
4. The *feasibility* of its *practical* execution under existing circumstances.

As to the *history*, we may admit the position that the Universities are, in a legal sense, lay corporations; the stories about King James and Newmarket we may leave untouched; but still, the broad ground remains uncontrovertibly clear, that the Universities, in their spirit and practice, and the several Colleges, in their foundation, their statutes, and their discipline, have always been connected with the ecclesiastical constitution of the country; and that now to divorce them from it by the intrusion of Dissenters, on almost equal terms, would be to introduce an innovation never contemplated, and place them on a footing on which hitherto they have never stood.

As to *authorities*, again, we are quite ready to try them, either by *number* or by *weight*. The talents, the acquirement, the great and varied merits, of many of the gentlemen who signed the first petition, it would be a mad injustice to disallow. But the old thesis is not quite inapplicable, "*quam quisque nōrit artem, in hāc se exerceat.*" It is strange reasoning to infer, that, because these petitioners are conversant with mathematical certainties and the fixed relations of quantity, they must therefore be the best judges as to the probable course of contingent events; that, because they have been conversant with rocks, and soils, and masses of inanimate matter, they are most competent to deal with the mighty matters which affect human action and human passion; that, because they are eminent for concentration of study, they must cast the wisest and most comprehensive survey over the ample and eventful stage of political and religious regulations. We intend no disparagement; but, if such be a logical conclusion, and such men are to dictate to the country in such matters, then the ancient lecturer was not so very wrong after all, in giving Hannibal a lesson upon the art of war: then we must ask Mr. Faraday's opinion upon a point of theology, and consult with Mr. M'Culloch upon a point of literary taste; we must talk of versification with Sir Robert Seppings, and take the advice of Mr.

Thomas Moore upon the theory of naval tactics, and go to Mr. Joseph Hume, as an "*arbiter elegantiarum*." Our respect, and a very deep and cordial respect it is, for such men as Mr. Sedgwick and Mr. Thirlwall, cannot blind us to the incongruity of setting them up as umpires and referees in affairs quite foreign from all the habits of their lives. On the other side, at any rate, are men of equal learning, equal influence and station, and far more practical experience in the business of instruction. As to *numbers*, again, it would be even absurd to institute a comparison. At Cambridge, the majority is immense. At Oxford, from the heads of houses and the oldest fellows, down to the freshman who went up last term, there is but one sentiment and one voice. And, if little stress is to be laid upon the impetuous vociferations of excited under-graduates, surely some deference is due to the sober and unanimous suffrage of every tutor in the place.

As to the *reasonableness* of the admission; as to the justice that the education at National Universities should not be severed from the National Religion; that Churchmen should have the privilege of excluding Dissenters from Colleges founded by Churchmen, as Orthodox Dissenters would exclude Infidels and Unitarians from Colleges founded by themselves; as to the balance of *good* and *evil*; as to the prospect of *harmony* and *discord*; as to the chances of *advantage* or *danger*; the matter has been already argued in Parliament, and throughout the land, as some may think "*usque ad nauseam*;" and to us it really seems almost too plain to bear argument.

The mere agitation of the subject has already done infinite harm; and the petitioners, we imagine, must be sorry for the storm which they have conjured up, but which they cannot appease. It grieves us to the very heart to see the controversy sliding by degrees into personal bitterness; to see the kind and generous nature of Mr. Sedgwick degenerating into acrimony, until he can find a poor pleasure in attempting to wither the laurels that have not been long green, to browbeat and put down a young and clever antagonist like Mr. Selwyn; or to see a man with the European reputation of Mr. Thirlwall, reduced to find his situation at Trinity uncomfortable or untenable.

Again, as to the feasibility of the scheme in its actual operation, how can it be well and conveniently *practicable*, when the Dissenters would go to the Universities for their degrees, against the known and expressed wishes of all who are to govern them, all who are to instruct them, all who are to live with them? Where will be the endearing and affectionate relation between tutor and pupil: where the frank and honourable emulation of young men, when Dissenters go as Dissenters, and are *forced* upon the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge? What *can* result but anger and disquietude, and laceration of feelings, and perhaps lamentable ebullitions of exasperation and passion? Nor is it possible to get over the difficulty, the dilemma, as to college discipline. By the plain principle of the project, and by the terms of Mr. Ward's motion, the Jew is admissible to degrees. But is the Jew, who, by the way, as was observed by Sir Robert Peel, is rather a stumbling block in the way of the *historical* argument—is the Jew to be compelled to attend the Christian chapel? If he is *not* compelled

how can college discipline be enforced? If he is compelled, will not this compulsion soon be considered as great a grievance as his former exclusion? And may not this extreme case elucidate at least a hundred others? In spite of the majority of 174, Ministers cannot dream of carrying the measure.

One thing we must repeat: the evils already caused are many and alarming; the disruption of personal intimacies and private friendships;—the substitution, in too many instances, of distrust and dislike for open and ardent cordiality—the state of distraction into which whole colleges have been thrown—the shock given to the quiet studies of the University—the fiery irritation generated in youthful minds, which, even in a good cause, is of very problematical advantage—all these things are foretastes of the ultimate consequences which will result from the admission of non-conformists on the terms and in the manner demanded; and must prove to the very originators of the scheme, that its prosecution will unsheathe the sword of unmitigated enmity, instead of gluing it to the scabbard.

It has struck some persons as a curious fact in the history of these pamphlets that they are *all* written by churchmen. The admission to degrees in the national Universities does not, therefore, appear to them to be in reality a matter which the Dissenters have very seriously at heart. Hereafter, perhaps, they may make a stalking horse of it, and demand it as a step to their ulterior objects; but at present Churchmen are almost tearing each other to pieces about granting a boon to the Dissenters, for which the Dissenters themselves hardly take the trouble to ask. Such persons begin to suspect that *conscientious* Dissenters would rather have their own religious education in their own colleges; and that *political* dissenters are comforted by the assurance, that, if their great end can be secured, all the rest will come as a matter of course; for that the garrison towns must follow the fate of the main army. They believe, in short, that the privilege of degrees is not of itself, and for itself, a thing near and dear to the bosoms of the Dissenters; and that it is merely in its connection with the eventual ascendancy of their principles, that they think about it, and care about it.

The only plea, we think, which deserves consideration is the argument, that the non-admission to degrees is a *civil grievance* to the Dissenters; because it throws impediments in their way upon the path of active life, as, for instance, in the professions of law and physic; and that both the parliament and the country are pledged to the removal of *civil* disabilities on account of religious opinions. Be it so. Then, as an infinitely less mischief, and an infinitely less discomfort, than their admission to degrees at Oxford and Cambridge, let the Dissenters have their own University and their own degrees; and let the College of Physicians and the Benchers of the Inns of Court deal with those degrees according to their value; and award immunities and exemptions in consequence of them, if the intrinsic worth of the education conferred, and the respectability of conduct and attainment, of which degrees are supposed to be a guarantee, be found such as to merit the privilege. *They* are the persons with whom the matter will rest.

The debates on this subject are well worthy of perusal. There is only one other which can compete with it in importance. We mean the subject of the Irish Church, and the commission which is appointed. This commission proceeds upon the principle, in spite of any disingenuous disclaimers, that *ecclesiastical property is alienable for any purposes to which the legislature may choose to apply it*. For else why did Mr. Stanley, and Sir J. Graham, and Lord Ripon, and the Duke of Richmond, secede from the ministry? Into the mere *abstract* question, we think it folly to enter; or to trouble ourselves with the threadbare arguments about state prerogatives, or state necessity, or the "*salus populi suprema lex*," or the utility of sacrificing a part to the interest of the whole. We would merely take the ground, that *only* an absolute, overpowering, grinding necessity can be a justification, on the part of the state, of that transfer of property which must be preceded by a seizure of property: that if church property is alienable, all other property is alienable; and that, if a people is once familiarised to this idea of alienation, no property can long be safe. As to some of the details, we would refer to the spirited manifestos of Lord Winchelsea and Lord Roden;—or rather to the magnificent speech of Mr. Stanley, which it rejoices us to see published. It rejoices us still more to see that gentleman fulfilling the high expectations of the country; and not tarnishing, by any fatal inconsistency or tergiversation, the earliest honours which he reaped upon the floor of parliament. His conduct on this occasion will help to make him, on some future day, prime minister of the British empire.

For the rest, some symptoms are as encouraging as others are portentous. Meetings in support of the Church have been held in various parts of the kingdom. Addresses, declaratory of affectionate attachment and inviolable adherence, have been poured in by the Laity both to his Majesty and to the highest dignitaries in the hierarchy of the land. The King has avowed his personal and inflexible resolution to resist any projects tending to the subversion of the Establishment, and even his doubts as to the necessity of material alterations. At Oxford, the Duke of Wellington has been elected Chancellor; and the enthusiasm manifested at his Grace's installation must have been a convincing indication of the feelings still prevalent, not merely among the Clergy, but also among the aristocracy and the gentry of the kingdom.

At the same time, unceasing are the efforts to drop into the minds of the people at large the poison of estrangement and discontent. Members of his Majesty's Government, Mr. Ellice, for instance, can talk of the *existence* of the Irish Church as having caused fearful injury. In the House of Commons, too, there is a spirit unquestionably bad: there is an un-English spirit; and not only a sectarian spirit, or a republican spirit, but a cold, shallow, pedantic, yet destructive spirit, which would first level all our institutions with the ground, and then begin *de novo* to build an entire edifice after some splendid model of utilitarian philosophy;—for which purpose the ghost of Jeremy Bentham ought to start up and lay the first stone.

The Dissenters, again, have not been idle; and their designs, almost in spite of themselves, are becoming more and more palpable to the world. Lord Durham

has professed himself their especial friend ; he seems in his heart to go along with the whole, or almost the whole, of their demands : but there are some which he recommends them not instantly to press ; and he advises them to bear a little longer with the unholy alliance between Church and State ; or, if they cannot attain to patience, at least not for the present to suffer their *impatience* to be visible.

The whole spirit of the system, which is recommended by Lord Durham, we would denounce and repudiate. Our principle is to speak out, and make other parties speak out. Our wish is, that the real views and intentions of all parties may be so stated, as to preclude the possibility of evasion or mistake ; and then that the people of England may be left to judge between them ; and some comfort it is, that the Dissenters have spoken out, and that the members of his Majesty's government have spoken out. Some comfort it is, that they have spoken out on opposite sides, and that they are now committed to opposite opinions. Some comfort it is, that if, the Dissenters are to carry their point, at least they cannot carry it while the present Ministers are in office. Lord Grey and Lord Brougham *dare* not concede *all* that the dissenters would exact.

And can Lord Durham really believe, that, after all which the Dissenters have said, and all which the Dissenters have written,—after all that is in remembrance, and all that, we rejoice to say, is upon indelible record,—after all that has become matter not of conjecture but of history, there exists any human being in the country so silly, so stupid, so besotted, as *now* to be gulled by the shallow artifice of a temporary silence ?—as to imagine that the Dissenters will be satisfied with any thing less than the complete subversion of the Establishment, *as* an Establishment,—than the entire and final separation of Church and State. His Lordship's advice is *too late*. What is the use of masking a battery which has been seen ; or putting on a visor when the face has been recognised ? If the battle must be fought, we would fight it out at once ; before our adversaries grow stronger by our cowardice or supineness ; before their resources are concentrated, and their stratagems are ripe.

As to religious and philanthropic associations, there are others, of which we are anxious to treat, when we have an opportunity, in the same way as we have now discussed the proceedings of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. With regard to that admirable and most powerful association, we would here restate, for the sake of obviating misapprehensions, that our object has been to advocate, first, *fixedness* of theology, together with *progressiveness* of intellectual and literary power ; and, secondly, *unity of purpose, together with division of labour*, and the necessity of taking a wide and comprehensive, we had almost said, a philosophical and statesmanlike, view of the Society as a whole, in order that the sphere of the several departments may be accurately defined : because, without such a view, one Committee, or one branch, will be always invading the province of another ; just as the "*Supplemental Catalogue*" now clashes with the works of "*General Literature and Education* ;" and some of the books of the *Strand Committee*, by way of retaliation, we suppose, trench upon the *list of the Society's religious publications*.

BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

The New Testament with a Commentary. Part III. Acts, Romans, Corinthians
By the Rev. C. Girdlestone, Vicar of Sedgely.

HEARTILY are we rejoiced to meet Mr. Girdlestone on his own ground. His present labours are an honour to himself, and a service to the Christian world. They bespeak the pious, earnest divine;—the exemplary minister—the indefatigable and practical commentator. Here Mr. Girdlestone is quite at home; we are never sorry to meet with him, except when he makes excursions into the debatable regions which lie on the confines of religion and politics. The “Concordance to the Psalms” will also be found highly useful;—although, of course, a work of less pretensions than the Commentary to the New Testament.

A Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon. By the Rev. Thomas Parry, Archdeacon of Antigua.

WE agree with the Author, that although the Remarks are local, the spirit is general. His advice is peculiarly applicable to the Colonies, and “the present crisis of West Indian affairs;” but, certainly, they will not be inapplicable *here*, and now, to men in the different relations of “masters and servants,”—“employers and workmen,”—“landlords and tenants.”

Exposition of the Parables, and of other Parts of the Gospels. By Edward Greswell, B.D., and Fellow of C. C. C., Oxford. London: Rivingtons.

THIS elaborate and sterling work, although it already stretches through three tolerably large volumes, is yet incomplete. We, therefore, postpone our strictures. It is, however, but justice to state now, that the reader who is interested in the Parables of the Gospel,—and what Christian reader is not?—will find, in the copious and learned labours of Mr. Greswell, a vast quantity of diligent research, accurate criticism, and curious illustration.

SACRED ANTIQUITIES.

1. *Beke's Origines Biblicæ, or Researches in Primæval History.* London: Parbury, Allen and Co.
2. *Winning's Essays on the Antediluvian Ages.* London: Rivington.
3. *Man, as Known to us Theologically and Geologically.* By the Rev. Edward Nares, D.D. Rector of Biddenden, Kent, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. London: Rivingtons.

To those, who have time and disposition to grapple with some of the most interesting and momentous subjects, which can engage the mind of man—subjects, however, which are not to be lightly or capriciously taken up,—we cordially

recommend the works just specified:—the two former more especially; as the work of Dr. Nares on that rather wide topic, “*Man*,” is of a lighter, and more desultory, and, may we presume to add? more gossiping kind. A minuter examination of the labours of the excellent Professor might lead us into a hundred controversies. To Mr. Beke we may recur, when the whole of his researches is before us; and Mr. Winning’s Antediluvian History may then also come under review.

MEMOIRS AND REMAINS.

1. *Sermons, Fragments, &c.* By Isaac Barrow. Now first collected and edited by the Rev. J. P. Lee, M.A. late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.
2. *Bishop Lowth’s Sermons and other Remains*, with a Memoir by the Rev. P. Hall, M.A.

THESE two works we purposely reserve. It would be injustice to the memory of two great men to write a hasty notice after a hasty perusal. Dr. Monk, the present Bishop of Gloucester, has given us an excellent life of one Master of Trinity College;—we wish that he had time to do for Barrow, what he has done so well for Bentley:—for Barrow, a man of whom we may surely say, as was said of Pearson, “that the very dust of his writings is gold.”

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1. *Memoirs and Remains of the Rev. C. Neale*. London: Seeley and Burnside.
 2. *Memoirs of the Rev. Basil Woodd*. London: Seeley and Burnside.
 3. *Remains of Dr. Payson, of Portland, U. S.*

WE look upon these volumes rather as tributes of affection to the memory of the deceased, and gratifying to their surviving friends, than as works in which the public at large can be expected to take any wide or enduring interest. In the remains of Dr. Payson, edited by his son, there are, however, some sound and well-expressed remarks on a variety of religious subjects. Mr. Neale appears, both from his own lucubrations, and from the account of Mr. Jowett, to have been a truly pious and amiable man:—but we can discover no marks of very high talent, and nothing of “great pith or moment,” either in the poetry or prose. So, again, as to the Rev. Basil Woodd;—respecting the excellence of his character, and the usefulness of his ministrations, there can be but one opinion:—but there may be at least two as to the policy of publishing a straggling and somewhat slovenly account, not merely of himself, but of the lives of all his family.

While attempts are thus made by the piety of kindred or connexions, to rescue smaller men from oblivion, are we not to have remains, as well as a memoir, of the illustrious Davison?

Of the “*Sermons, &c.* by the late Rev. William Howels,” we purpose to give a somewhat extended notice in our next number.

LIBRARIES.

Sacred Classics ; or Cabinet Library of Divinity. Edited by the Rev. R. Cattermole, B.D. and the Rev. H. Stebbing, M.A. London : Hatchard and Son.

GREAT, and not undeserved, praise has been lavished on this series of publications for their cheapness. The works, too, are for the most part very valuable in themselves, and the introductory Essays written with ability and care. Upon the principle of the project, which is to combine the theology of Churchmen and Dissenters, we might have much to say; and hereafter, probably, shall feel bound to say something; but there is only room to express our conviction, that the Editors must be considerably annoyed by the *puffing* advertisements, touching *her Majesty the Queen—her gracious pleasure in signifying her high approval of the design of this National Work, and her condescending to bestow upon it “the fullest support of her patronage.”* Surely, the title of “*Sacred Classics*,” and the superintendence of two respectable Clergymen of the Church of England, and the character of the publishers themselves, ought to have saved the publication from quackery such as this. And was not the “puff direct” of an Advertisement sufficient without the “puff collusive” of a paid Paragraph?

Christian's Family Library.

THE last number of this publication, which we have seen, contains the life of Dr. Claudius Buchanan, by Dr. Pearson, with retrenchments. In this abridged form, it occupies a tolerably thick volume; and will, we are sure, be read with interest and pleasure.

The Biblical Cabinet, No. VI., or, Hermeneutical, Exegetical, and Philological Library.

HERE, again, is a course of works, well worthy of attention on many accounts. Tracts and volumes of great value have already appeared in it. The number now before us is a translation of the celebrated Tholuck's Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount. Without agreeing with all the positions of the erudite German, we must at least allow that his labours form a great accession to Biblical Science.

SERMONS.

Sermons. By the Rev. Plumpton Wilson. Vol. I. Rivingtons.

THE fact that this volume has already reached a third edition, bears us out in our opinion, that the discourses contained in it are excellent in their matter, and beautiful in their composition; and it also supersedes the necessity of any further recommendation.

Sermons. By Hunter Francis Fell, A.M. Seeley and Burnside.

It is possible that we may speak hereafter of these Sermons, in connection with others of the same School. If we are induced to do so, our remarks will not be altogether panegyrical.

Short and Plain Sermons, for Reading in Families. By Rev. J. S. Pratt, B.C.L.
James Cochran, Strand.

Just what they pretend to be—clear, simple, homely discourses.

Lay Sermons. By the Ettrick Shepherd.

WE have so often, and so importunately demanded, that the Laity should interest themselves in behalf and in support of the Clergy, that we ought, upon our own principles, to be thankful to Mr. Hogg for his labours. But so perverse is the disposition of mankind, that we are ungrateful enough not to applaud either the title or the character of his work. Assuredly, neither ourselves, nor, we believe, the great body of Clergy in the empire, are much inclined to approve and admire the composition of Lay Sermons. If they are really of a religious and spiritual nature, they look like an unauthorized interference with the province of Ecclesiastics; if they are of a lighter and more secular tendency, they seem to throw an air of ridicule over the whole class of publications.

The Lay Sermons before us are not calculated to disarm our dislike, or, as the author may perhaps think, to divest us of our prejudice. If they had been cast in another shape, and called Essays, or "Observations," we might have praised many passages in them for the strong sense and keen acuteness which they display. But, really, when we regard the designation which they bear, and the sometimes dull witticisms with which they are studded, we are only reminded of poor Byron's line upon a man with whom Mr. Hogg might be proud of being brought into comparison :

"His jokes were sermons, and his sermons jokes."

VOLUMES OF MISCELLANEOUS DIVINITY.

Divine Providence, or the Three Cycles of Revelation. By the Rev. G. Croly, D. D. London: James Duncan.

DR. CROLY is a man of vivid imagination; but the misfortune is, that his imagination runs away with him. His language, therefore, is rich and often eloquent; but his ideas are for the most part, quite fanciful and unsound. His present attempt is to establish the Christian faith, by showing that Providence, as it were, repeats itself in a recurrence of similar events by "*the parallelism of the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian dispensations.*" We really trust that our religion stands on some firmer ground, than this "*new evidence of the divine origin of Christianity.*" We cannot flatter the ingenious writer, by saying that we think he has made out his point of the "*three Cycles:*" nor do we see how, even if he could make it out, it would in itself demonstrate what he wishes to

prove. The book, however, contains many poetical expressions, many well drawn and highly-coloured pictures, many acute, though forced and far-fetched, observations; and it is exceedingly curious throughout, from the respectful dedication—that dedication being from Dr. Croly to Lord Chancellor Brougham,—down to the comparison near the end, as an argument for the truth of Christianity, between Alexander and Napoleon. The author, we can only repeat, is a man of a fine and vigorous fancy, which outstrips and overpowers his judgment; and divinity, we are therefore of opinion, is not his *forte*.

Lectures on the Gospel, with an Appendix on Baptismal Regeneration. By the Rev. H. Hughes, M. A. Rivingtons.
 SOUND, and good, and to be safely recommended.

Brewster's Reflections on the Holy Seasons of the Christian Year.
 THE same character may fairly be given of this publication. The design and execution are both worthy of praise, and the work can hardly be read without some improvement and edification.

1. *Prayers and Offices of Private Devotion.* By Lancelot Andrews, sometime Bishop of Winchester. Edited by the Rev. B. Bouchier, M. A. Seeley & Co.
3. *Family Prayers.* By the late William Wilberforce, Esq. Edited by his Son. Hatchard and Son.

Two excellent and unexceptionable Manuals for private devotion. We rejoice to be informed by the Rev. R. T. Wilberforce, that a Life of his admirable parent “will be published at as early a period as the magnitude of the task allows.”

Practical Advice to the Young Parish Priest. By James Duke Coleridge, LL. B. Rivingtons.

THE title of this little volume sufficiently declares its nature; and its contents fully bear out the description of the title. It is, indeed, *practical* advice, sound, sensible, and useful; the kind of counsel for which a young Clergyman ought to be thankful, and which he will be wise to follow.

Last Words, or the Truth of Jesus sealed in the Death of his Martyrs. Seeley and Burnside.

THE intention of the author of “Little Mary,” “Ellen’s Visit to the Shepherd,” &c. is, we have no doubt, excellent: but we confess, that the associations connected in our minds with Christian Martyrdom, are somewhat disturbed by the tone of the work, and the “*dramatis personæ*.” Thus, for example, the work commences—“*Last words*,” said *Mary Graham*, as she sat thoughtfully resting her arm on her desk, with some old letters before her, “*Last Words!*” To which sister Emily says something sentimental in reply; and then Mary makes a rejoinder to “*Dear Emily*,” &c. &c.

Under this head, it is but imperfect justice to enumerate, with a passing commendation, the work upon the Types of the Old Testament, re-written from Samuel Mather, by the author of the *Listener*,—"the Catechism of the Seven Sacraments," by the Rev. C. Brereton;—"a Short Course of Reading, from the Old Testament," by H. H. Beaver;—"Frank's Christian Psalmody, arranged in suitable portions;"—the "Plain Remarks on the Lord's Supper," by the Rev. F. Sullivan, Vicar of Kimpton; and a clever, useful, unpretending little production, printed at Maidstone, entitled "Short Conversation Lectures, explaining a card of Questions to be answered by Texts from the Psalms:" of which we cannot but add, that it is excellently adapted to an excellent purpose, namely the instruction of the Pupils, and also the assistance of the Teachers, in Sunday Schools.

SACRED POETRY.

Jephtha's Daughter. A Dramatic Poem. By M. J. Chapman, Esq., Fraser. WE have before expressed our doubts as to the use of dramatising the Scriptures. "Jephtha's Daughter" is, however, a most tempting subject; and the present attempt exhibits some skill, and much poetical expression. Yet let not Mr. Chapman be offended, if we hint that his talents might be employed more serviceably, for others and for himself, than upon his projected "Trilogy on the Houses of Saul and David; or dramas founded on the History of Esther and Job." Hannah Moore, and others, have partly at least, anticipated him:—but how few people care about their sacred dramas!

TRACTS AND OCCASIONAL PUBLICATIONS.

IT will readily be supposed that critical and stirring times give birth to an enormous multiplicity of brief and fleeting productions. Among the number, however, which have lately come into our hands, few, except those which we have already mentioned in some way or other, seem to require notice; and, indeed, so literally ephemeral are many of them in their nature, that their interest has passed away even before the next appearance of a quarterly publication. For instance, there is a letter to the Duke of Newcastle on the *approaching* Musical Festival.

The tone of all the religious *brochures*—(we will not even make the exception of the Bishop of Chichester's late Charge at Lewes,)—is thoroughly determined and ardent in support of the church: and yet, we rejoice to say, the prevalent spirit is rather the spirit of Christian firmness than of acrimonious and intemperate bitterness.

We are glad that the Bishop of Exeter has printed the speech, with reference to subscription to the Articles at Oxford which caused the Lord Chancellor to forget the dignity of his office in his love of sarcasm. As the speech is published, we can certainly see no ground for a charge of Jesuitry, or laxity of principle.

Remarks on Registration. By the Rev. W. H. Hale

A FUTURE opportunity will probably occur for discussing more at length the contents of this able, and cogent, and most useful pamphlet. Most useful

it assuredly may be to all who are conversant with the matter of which it treats, or who *ought* to be conversant with it; whether, or not, they may be induced, after the careful study which it deserves, to coincide entirely with its conclusions. They may think, perhaps, that Mr. Hale somewhat underrates the value of statistical science: but they will probably unlearn some hasty and erroneous notions; they will be led to re-consider what they supposed to be quite clear; to discern a bristling hedge of difficulties, where they had fondly imagined the path to be quite smooth and easy; and, generally, to take a more sober, and cautious, and practical view of a subject, which is invested, on many accounts, with high and serious importance.

Two Terminal Lectures delivered at Durham.

Sermon delivered at Cambridge. By the Rev. Hugh James Rose.

WE have here three compositions quite worthy of a writer from whom,—such is the tax imposed upon previous eminence and successful exertion,—a more than common display of power and ability would be expected. The two discourses and the sermon are all learned, all valuable, all excellent; they possess a stirring and elevating eloquence, not because they are peculiarly distinguished by the artificial graces and embellishments of style; but because they breathe a devoted integrity of purpose, a loftiness and holiness of thought, which forcibly reminds us how true is Cicero's observations, that the first requisite in an orator is moral goodness. There are some few paragraphs, however, in the Sermon, on which we cannot altogether agree with Mr. Rose.

Letter to the Editor of the British Critic. By the Rev. Baden Powell.

WE had prepared a few remarks, written, we trust, in a not unfriendly tone, upon Mr. Powell's Letter; but we have left ourselves no room to insert them. For the present, therefore, we can only assure him, that our silence proceeds neither from disrespect to himself, nor from any conviction of the force of his arguments.

FOREIGN THEOLOGY.

Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie. In Verbindung mit der historisch-theologischen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig. Herausgegeben von D. Christian Friedrich Illgen, ordentlichem Professor der Theologie zu Leipzig. Leipzig, 1834.

WE have before us three parts of this series of papers. Of what kind are these researches, in connection with the Historico-Theological Society at Leipsic, our readers may learn from a translation of the titles of some among the contributions. No. 2 of third volume, first part, two articles (Pieces) from "The Moral Philosophy and Theology of the Chinese." No. 4, "The Doctrine of the Unitarians of the second and third Century respecting the Holy Spirit," &c. No. 2 of second part, "Pilgrimages of Buddhistic Priests from China to India, translated from the Chinese, with an Introduction and Remarks, &c." No. 3, "Sabellianism in its original Signification." Again, we have in Latin, "Doctrina Origenis de λόγῳ divino ex disciplinâ Neoplatonicâ illustrata." Deep and extensive learning is displayed in all these multifarious inquiries; nor can there

be the slightest doubt that efforts such as these will contribute more to the advancement of "Historical Theology," than any thing which we are at present doing in England.

We beg also to acknowledge the receipt, in sheets, of the first volume of the "Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of the New Testament," by Professor Schott, of Jena, and Professor Winzer, of Leipsic. The present volume embraces, together with some learned "*Prolegomena*," the Epistles to the Thessalonians and Galatians—"argumentis quippe idoneis evincere licet, has omnino fuisse omnium, quæ ætatem tulerint, Pauli Epistolarum antiquissimas." So says D. Henry Augustus Schott in his Preface; and, when we have leisure and space, it will give us sincere satisfaction to undertake an examination of the present and future labours of himself and his colleague.

ILLUSTRATIVE WORKS.

In this department, which we may very fairly include as at least a beautiful auxiliary to theological literature, it is impossible not to notice the continuation of "The Landscape Illustrations of the Bible," published by Mr. Murray, a series in which every number seems striving to outdo the finished elegance of its predecessors. The "Illustrations of the Bible," after original paintings by Westall and Martin, although, from the smallness of the price, 1s. a number, somewhat rude and coarse in comparison, are yet full of spirit and vigour. "The descriptions of the plates," are committed, in the two works respectively, to the able care of Mr. Hartwell Horne and Mr. Hobart Caunter.

There are several other works now lying before us, which we should be glad to mention with the encomium which they deserve; if we had more room, and if their contents would not draw us too far from the theological subjects, to which in these brief notices we must chiefly confine ourselves. Among them we can now only enumerate "Conder's Geographical Dictionary, Ancient and Modern," "The Existence of other Worlds, peopled with living and intelligent Beings," by Mr. Alexander Copland; a little, but, for young people, an amusing, and instructive work, called "The Accidents of Human Life;" and then,—to make a leap from small to large, from light to important,—a very magnificent publication, "On the extinct monsters of the ancient earth, the Ichthyosauri and the Plesiosauri," "with twenty-eight plates," which, by the way, we cannot but think decidedly superior in taste and execution to the letter press: nor can we refrain from expressing the pleasure we have derived from a perusal of Mr. Anstice's very ingenious and elegant Prize Essay on the Effect of Foreign Conquest upon the Literature and Arts of the Romans.

In conclusion, there is a single remark which we would make once for all. For the works forwarded to us by authors or publishers we feel obliged; but we would wish them always to come unheralded, untrumpeted, and unattended by recommendatory or propitiatory remarks. We cannot abstain from saying, that the strongest temptation which we experience, either to pass a book over in silence, or to treat it with severity, is to find it accompanied with a letter begging for a favourable review.



